

THE  
Bloody Affizes:  
Or, A COMPLEAT  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
LIFE  
OF  
George Lord Jefferies,  
FROM  
His Birth to this Present Time.

WHEREIN,

Among other things, is given a true Account of his unheard of Cruelties, and Barbarous Proceedings, in his whole ~~Western-Circuit~~.

COMPREHENDING

The whole Proceedings; Arraignment, Tryals, and Condemnation of all those who Suffer'd in the *West of England*, in the Year 1685. With their undaunted Courage at the Barr, their Behaviour in Prison, their Cruel Whippings afterwards, and the remarkable Circumstances that attended their Executions.

To which is added Major HOLMES's Excellent Speech, with the Dying Speeches and Prayers of many other Eminent Protestants.

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*None of which were ever before Publish'd.*

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Faithfully Collected by several West-Country Gentlemen, who were both Eye and Ear-Witnesses to all the Matter of Fact.

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WITH ALLOWANCE.

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TO  
GEORGE Lord JEFFERIES

LATE

Lord CHANCELOUR of England.

My LORD,

I Know not to whom I could more properly Dedicate a Treatise of this Nature, than to your Lordship; who lately was Lord Chief Justice of England, and have set such remarkable Copies to inferiour Magistrates. What is here offered may serve as a Mirror, in which future Administrators of publick Justice would do well to look; for you may remember, my Lord, (if your Lordships present Afflictions have not made you forget) in much Law as you ever learn? Common Law runs much upon Precedents: And if a Man will pay to have none of the best Physicians, there is no reason why he should straight grow angry, and sling Stones, to break all the Looking glasses he meets with, only because they represent the true Figure of the Object. Nam. mod. hinc W. sh. 11.

My Lord, The following Treatise is a true Account of your Lordships Life and Actions, many of which are ready to be attested upon Oath) of your unheard of Cruelties and barbarous Proceedings upon the whole Western Circuit: In which all may see, at what dear rates our Western Martyrs purchased their Religion, and how abas is cost those glorious Sufferers that so lately went off the stage (under your Lordships Sentence) both Whippings and cruel Imprisonments, and the most exquisite Tortures which none could invent or inflict but your

# The Epistle Dedicatory.

Your Lordship, (who is suppos'd by all to have an Heart of marble,  
 and Entrails of brass) nor any endure but they whose gal-  
 lant and noble Souls were born up with heavenly Cordials,  
 and a Power from on high. But my Lord, rest assured, that  
 their Blood still cries for Vengeance, and will be a lasting mo-  
 nument of your Lordships Cruelties, whilst History can speak  
 or transmit to incredulous Posterity the remarkables of elap-  
 sed Ages; for Hang, Draw and Quarter, and Try Men af-  
 terwards, (Witness Sir Thomas Armstrong's Death, &c.)  
 has been your peculiar Talent. But your Lordship will now at  
 last do well to remember that King Alfred caused forty four  
 Judges in one year to be Hang'd as Murderers, for their false  
 Judgments.

I hope your Lordship will pardon this present Address,  
 seeing 'tis a Priviledge we modern Authors hold by prescrip-  
 tion, to put any great Body's Name in the front of our Book:  
 Princes have not been able to exempt themselves or their  
 Families from the Persecution of Dedications; nor ever  
 was there (I humbly conceive) any Rule made in your Lord-  
 ships Court to forbid them.

Suffer them, I beseech your Lordship, this Address to re-  
 main a Monument to Posterity of the sentiments this Age  
 has of your Lordships Conduct and Merits; and Witness to  
 all the World how much it is indebted to

Your LORDSHIPS

Most Humble Servant,

James Burn

21.



GEORGE Lord JEFFERIES.

old Police Charge still ref'd to them & no back: **Proton**

## Protons

Prutus hur creat Cranfather, if hur enquire,  
And Adam's Cranfather was Prutus fire;  
Famous ap Shenkin was hur elder Brother,  
Some Caledonian Sycorax hur Mother:  
Or some she-De'il more damn'd than all the rest,  
At their black Feast hur lustful Sire compest:  
Thence do I think this Cacademon rose,  
Whose wrathful Eyes his inward baseness shows;  
His shape is all inhumane and uncouth,  
But yet he's chiefly Devil about the MOUTH;  
With care this Brat was nurs'd for fear it shou'd  
Grow tame, and so degen'rate into good:  
With City charters he was wrapt about,  
And Acts of Parliament for swadling-clout:  
As he grew up, he won a noble Fame,  
For which Squire Ketch hath sworn him publick shame.  
And won't it be a pretty sight to see't,  
The Hang-man, Rope, and bloody Jekeries meet?  
Jekeries who oberisht spits, as all can tell;  
Jekeries who was the darling Brat of Hell;  
Oft with success this mighty Blast did bawl,  
Where loudest Lungs, and biggest words win all;  
And still his clenched Arguments did end  
With that hope-thrust, He is not Casar's Friend.  
Sometimes that jaded Ears he might release  
Good Man! he has been fce'd to hold his Peace.  
Hear him, but never see him, and you'd swear  
He was the Cryer, not the Counsellor:  
He roars, as if he only chaw'd his food,  
Justice was now grown deaf as well as blind.  
This Demy-fiend, this Hurricane of Hell  
Was sent to butcher all that Well he nam'd  
'Twas him the Popish Party wisely chose  
To splutter Law, and the diabolicke Rhetorick  
They have a thousand Tongues, as he can see  
Far louder, tho' they had a thousand more  
Unto long-winded Cooks he turns to turn  
But Pleads, his Majesty will have it so.  
Prutus

He's for all Mischief set, by Nature bred;  
 He rails at all before him, and is fed  
 Hyæna like, by tearing up the Dead.  
 Th' unluckiest Satyrists alive, that still  
 Writes his own Character in all that's ill.  
 Of all the World most fit a Vice's expose,  
 That all its Cause, Effects and Motions knows,  
 Stranger to none can no advantage lose.  
 Big with conceit the empty shape looks great,  
 His own dear self obligingly doth treat:  
 Rewards his Soul in any garb will lap,  
 His ductile Soul will put on any shape:  
 Vice hath his patronage, and there's no fear  
 But Hell in time may his protection share,  
 The rather 'cause the god of gold is there.  
 He courts loud rumour, but lets truth alone,  
 Conscious of guilt, he shuns being justly known,  
 And by's oft changing flies a definition.  
 Learn'd, but in ill; Ingenious but in spite;  
 Virtuous by accident, by chance a Wit;  
 Modest, when beat; in suffering valiant;  
 Honest, when forc'd; and moderate when in want;  
 True, but for Interest; Civil, but for dread;  
 Devout for Alms; and Loyal but for bread.  
 Thy mushroom Greatness I dare now arraign,  
 For all thy Hectoring now will be in vain.  
 Here, take this Pass, ere we for ever part;  
 Then run, and then farewell with all my heart.  
 The Lawyers yelling in their feign'd debate,  
 And the fleec'd Clients Wisdom, all too late;  
 The keeping Cully's Jealousie and Care,  
 The slighted Lover's Maggots and Despair;  
 A Woman's Body every day to dress,  
 A fickle Soul, little as theirs, or less;  
 The Courtiers business, th' Impudence o' th' Stage,  
 And the defeated Father Peter's Rage;  
 A Clock-work Spouse with loud eternal Clack,  
 A Shop i' th' Change still ry'd to What d'ye lack:

Whose

Worse than these last, if any Curses more  
Ovid ere knew, or fiercer Oldham's store ;  
'Till not one part in Body or Soul be free,  
May all their barbed Vengeance show'r on thee :  
Press'd with their weight, long may'st thou raving lye,  
Envy'ing an Halter, but not dare to dye:  
And when Condemn'd thou dost thy Clergy plead,  
Some frightful Fiend deny thee Power to read ;  
Madness, Despair, Confusion, Rage and Shame  
Attend you to the Place from whence you came:  
To Tyburn thee let carrion Horses draw,  
In jolting Cart, without so much as straw ;  
Faded, may they lye down i'th' road, and tyr'd,  
And worse than one fair hanging, twice bemir'd)  
May'st thou be maul'd with Pulcher's Sexton's Sermon.  
'Till thou roar out for Hemp-sake, Drive on Car-man.  
Pelted and Curst i'th' road by every one,  
Ene to be hang'd may'st thou the Gauntlet run.  
Not one good Woman who in Conscience can  
Cry out, — 'Tis pity, — Troth, a proper Man.  
Stupid and dull, may'st thou rub off like Hone,  
Without an open, or a smother'd groan :  
May the Knot miss the place, and fitted be  
To plague and torture, not deliver thee ;  
Be half a day a Dying thus, and then  
Revive like Savage to be Hang'd agen:  
In Pity now thou shalt no longer Live,  
For when thus satisfy'd, I can forgive.

John Carter.



THE  
**Bloody Assizes :**  
 OR, A  
 COMPLEAT HISTORY  
 OF THE  
 L I F E  
 OF  
 GEORGE Lord JEFFERYS.

**R** Eader, Think it not strange if I present you with the memorable *Life and Actions* of a Person, so well known in this great Kingdom: And peradventure *Fame* has not been silent in other Countreys, especially since he has been advanced to be a *Chief Minister of State*, and late as it were steering at the Helm of Government. Various indeed are the Changes of worldly Affairs, and the Actions of Humane Life, which have been more particularly exemplified in the *Rise and Fall* of the Person, the subject of this Discourse; who from almost a mean obscurity, soar'd to the lofty *Pyramid* of Honour; where, for a while, like an unfixed Starr, he appeared to the Eyes of the wondering Nation, giving an imperfect lustre; 'till by the sudden turn and change of unsteady Fortune, he dropt headlong from his *Sphere*, and lost at once his Grandeur and his Power. To let Mankind see how little trust there is to be given to the smiles of *flattering Greynesse*, especially when attained by violent and pref-

ling motions: I now proceed to trace this unfortunate Favourite in the sundry Capacities and Stations that have hitherto made up the series of his Life.

He was Born at *Alton*, near *Wrexham*, in *Denbigh-shire*, in *Wales*, about the Year 1648. His Fathers Name was ——— *Jefferies*, being reputed a Gentleman in that Countrey, though of no large Fortune or Estate; however he lived very comfortably on what he had, improving his yearly Income by his Industry; and gain'd by his plain and honest Endeavours a good repute amongst the Gentry of those Parts; insomuch that it was not long before he, upon the recommendation of some Person of Interest and Ability, gain'd a Wife of a good House; and they lived very comfortably together in their *rural Habitation*, being far from Ambition, or striving for Court-favour; but contented with what God had blessed them with, and the fruits of their own Industry, they found a solid Happiness in that Contentment. Nor had they lived together any considerable time, but amongst other Children, the fruits of Wedlock, God was pleased to bestow on them the Person who is intended the *subject* of this Discourse, who was in due time Baptized by the Christian Name of *George*; whether he had *God-fathers*, &c. it does not occur; however he under the care and diligence of his industrious Parents grew up, and appear'd to all that studyed him, of a very prompt and ready Wit, active, and striving for Preeminency, even among his Compeers in his tender Age, which lively demonstrated that an Air of Ambition was inherent to his Person.

As soon as he was capable to receive Learning, he was put to a Countrey School, where he was furnished with such Education as that afforded, which was not extraordinary; yet his natural Parts set it off to the best Advantage; and growing to Years of somewhat a ripe understanding, and not very tractable, his Father by the Advice of some of his Confidants, caused him to be brought to *London*; and finding him not inclinable to any Trade, but rather addicted to Study, he entered him, or by his Procurement he was entred into the Free-School of *Westminster*, where he profited much; so that he was by the care of the worthy Master thereof soon enabled to understand the Languages, or at least so many of them as were convenient for the study of the Law, which above other things



things he aimed at; tho' his Father seem'd not very plyable to his desires; for perceiving in his Soul a more than ordinary *spark of Ambition*, fearing it might kindle into a flame, and prove one day his ruine, he labour'd to hinder the ways he conceiv'd most likely to bring it upon him; and is reported to say (when he found he could not dissuade him from what he purpos'd, gently clapping him on the back,) *Oh George, George, I fear thou wilt dye with thy Shooes and Stockings on*: What he meant by that Expression, I determine not, but leave the Reader to Interpret.

Upon the Coming in of King *Charles the 2d.* and the restoring the Face of Affairs in the Kingdom, the Law reviv'd again, and began to flourish; the *Practitioners* liv'd in much Credit and Reputation, and many of them purchased large Estates, which serv'd to wing the desire of this Person with Impatience; and some say he was the rather incited to it by a *Dream* he had whilst a Schollar at *Westminster School*, viz. *That he should be the chief Schollar in that School, and afterward should enrich himself by Study and Industry, and that he should come to be the second Man in the Kingdom; but in conclusion, should fall into great disgrace and misery*: This is confidently reported; and some say himself told it to sundry Persons, since when he found the second part of it was fulfilled, by acquiring the *Chancellourship*, and standing high in the Favour of his Prince.

However, we find the latter part did not deterr him from his purpose; for having enter'd himself in the *Inner-Temple House*, one of the chief Inns of Court, after his performing such things as are conformable to the Customs of the House, we find him call'd to the Barr, by the Interest he made with the Benchers and Heads of that learned Society, earlier than had been usual, leaping over the Heads of elder Graduates.

This happening about the twentieth Year of the Reign of King *Charles the 2d.* and the City of *London* beginning to raise her self out of her ashes, more stately and magnificent than before she sunk in flames, a Sacrifice to the Revenge and Malice of the Papists, as by the late Inscription on the Monument, and upon Record it appears: This great City I say, regaining her Trade, her Priviledges and Customs were kept up with great exactness, so that in the Courts at *Guild-Hall* there was much business; which

being consider'd by this Person as more beneficial than that at *Westminster*, by reason of its frequency, and being carry'd on briefer, and with less difficulty; which induced him to give his Attendance, as also at *Hicks-Hall*, and other inferior Courts and Places; insomuch that he being of a bold Presence, and having naturally a fluent Tongue, an audible Voice, and good Utterance, he had not Pleaded often before he was very much taken Notice of; and gain'd so much Credit with the People, that they prefer'd him before any of the younger sort of *Barristers*; by which means he found his lucky Starrs begin to smile upon him; so that he was in a manner Court'd to take Fees, and had Breviates thrust into his Hand frequently in the middle of a Cause by Persons, when they perceived it went ill on their sides, and was like to go against them.

Thus *push'd* with Success, he now thought of nothing more than how he might climb; nor did he want an Opportunity, for the next Station we find him in, is that of *Common Serjeant*, to the great and honourable City of *London*; and so much Fortune favour'd him at this time, that Alderman *Jefferys* the great Smoker, having often observ'd his Discourse and Actions, took such a liking to him, that being of the same Name, though not in the least any Relation, he back'd him with his Purse and Interest, which was not inconsiderable; and thereby not only enabled him to carry on his Grandeur, but to purchase as he found a convenience or advantage, in order to his keeping it up in the World.

These, I say, being the Degrees by which he was climbing the slippery stair of Honour, to contract a firmer alliance, he Addressed himself to a brisk young Widow, Daughter to Sir *Theobald Bloodworth*, then one of the Aldermen of the City; and who in the time of the dreadful Conflagration had the Chair, as being then *Lord Mayor*; and so far prevail'd upon the Lady and her Father, that he gain'd both their Consents, and the Contract was made, the Nuptials solemnized; And soon after he had the pleasure to behold the fruits of his Labour. Sir *John Howell* the Recorder of *London* giving place, the *Recordership* became vacant, which made this Person lay hold of that Opportunity, to use his own and the Interest of his Friends, to acquire that Place of Trust and Honour; nor did his Measures fail him, for by the powerful influence he had by this time gain'd over sundry Persons, who were best able to promote him to what he so earnestly labour'd to arrive at, he was Chosen and Confirm'd Recorder of the Honourable City; taking upon him the Charge and Care of the Writings, Papers, &c. that belong to so great a Charge and Trust, as that of a Recorder of the City of *London*.

By this means being become (as himself declar'd) *The Mouth of the City*, and as we may term him, Capital Judge in the *Guild-Hall*, in Controversies at the Sessions held there, &c. and the Power of breathing forth Sentences of Punishment being put into his hands, he found his Ambition enlarg'd, aiming at nothing more than to become a *Court-Favourite*: Nor was it long before an Opportunity offer'd it self, to make him to be taken notice of; for so it happened that some Persons had imprinted a *Plalter*, and Entituled it (the better to shadow the Injury they had done to the Company of *Stationers*, by invading their Property) *The King's Plalter*, which occasioning a Dispute, it was referred to a Hearing before the Council at *White-Hall*, the King being present, and the Company the better to make out their Title and Claim, carry'd with them this Person as their Council; who in the opening of the Case, and making the Complaint of the apparent Injury done to the Company, in Printing what was really their Propriety,

ty, he had this Expression, *viz.* *They have seem'd with a spurious Beat, which being clandestinely midwiv'd into the World, the better to cover the Imposture, they lay it at your Majesties door, &c.* This, though the King might have taken it (for sundry Reasons) as a Reflection upon his Royal Person, yet he was so far from resenting it that way, that he only turned to one of the Lords that sat next him, and said, *This is a bold Fellow I'll warrant him*; and indeed the Stationers had the Matter declared by the Honourable Board in their Favour.

About this time the Popish Plot being discover'd by Dr. Oates and others, the Nation was for a while in a Ferment, and matters run extremely high in Disputes and Controversies, and he sail'd with the Current, declaring with much heat and violence against the Priests, Jesuits, and others of the Conspirators and Romish Faction; as appeared not only by his vehement Expressions in pleading against them, but the alacrity and little Concern that was visible in his Countenance, when at any time as Recorder of London he pass'd Sentence of Death upon any of them; which he frequently did with more or less of Reproach, and became in a manner the Terror of that Party. But no sooner he perceived the Wind tacking at Court, and that there was some mis-understanding between K. Charles II. and his Parliament, but he began to fall off and grow cold in Prosecuting the Ends of the Government, being frequently at Court, and labouring as much as in him lay to draw the Magistracy of the City after him, as appears more especially by one Passage, *viz.* The King being recovered of an Indisposition, that had for some time put the Kingdoms in a fear and doubt of his Life, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen went to Congratulate him upon his going abroad; after which, and a favourable Reception, it was propos'd by this Person that they should in the like manner wait upon his Royal Highness, then Duke of York, who was not long before returned from Flanders; but perceiving no forwardness to be seconded, he only with his Father-in-law stay'd behind to gain that Access: These and other Proceedings created in the City a Jealousie, that he had espous'd an Interest to their Prejudice, which wrought so strongly in their Concelts, that it was concluded in the Council-Chamber at Guild-Hall, that he should resign his Recordership; and accordingly they sent to him to deliver back the Papers and Writings they had intrusted him with, which accordingly was done, and Sir George Treby constituted Recorder in his stead.

This so nettled him, that he now openly declar'd himself to be what before was only suspected, indulging his thoughts in nothing more than how he might revenge it upon the Dissenters, to whose influence on the Court of Aldermen he attributed his dismissal from the Recordership, and us'd his Endeavours to blacken them as much as he could: Yet all his Honour was not sunk, for he had prevail'd for the Removal of Sir Job Charleton from the Chief Justiceship of the County Palatine of Chester, and by the Importunity and Interest of his Party at Court, gain'd it for himself; and took the first Possession of that Charge in much splendour, paying at that time his Father a Visit with a numerous Train, which put the old Gentleman into such a fret, for the drinking up his Cyder, and devouring his Provisions, that he charg'd him with the undertaking to ruine him; by bringing a whole Countrey at his heels, commanding him never to attempt the like Prodigality again with hopes of success.

Many Petitions being put up upon the Dissolving the Parliament in 1681. by most of the Counties, and Burroughs, and Corporations of England, for the speedy Calling another, to redress the Grievances of the Nation; and the King shewing

some dislike of that manner of Proceeding, this Person further to endear himself to the Interest of the Court, declared in his Station as vehemently against them, by saying, *He abhorred that Petitioning*, &c. from which, and the discountenancing the Petitioners as much as in him lay, he gained the Name and Epithite of an *Abhorrer*; and upon the Burning the Pope in Effigies at *Temple-Bar*, upon the Birth-day of Queen *Elizabeth*, amongst other Figures, the Arch-waggs had set one on Horse-back with his Face to the Tail, and a Paper on his back, viz. *I am an Abhorrer*.

During these Transactions, the Parliament being called, met at *Westminster*, and amongst others this Person was called before them, for attempting to infringe upon the Rights and Priviledges of the People, &c. and obliged at the Barr of the Commons House (after having been heard what he could say in defence of his Proceedings by his Council) to make his Acknowledgment upon his Knees, and receive the Reprimand of the Speaker; whereupon, with some sharp Rebukes, as the Censure of the House, he was discharged.

To comfort him in this Affliction, that was not by a Man of his Haughty Spirit a little stomacked, this Parliament being Dissolved, and a Call of Serjeants had at the *Kings-Bench-Bar Westminster*, he was the First in the Roll, and consequently the Kings Serjeant; and as it is usual to present the King with a Ring on that occasion, the Motto he agreed to was, *A Deo Rex, a Rege Lex*, viz. *The King from God, and the Law from the King*. And now the Popish party playing their Cards with more security, *Edward Fitz-Harris* who had been Impeached by the Commons, and stood charged by them of High-Treason; being nevertheless, upon the Dissolution Tried at the Kings Bench-Bar; this Person was the principal stickler against him, and by his Rhetorical and florid expressions, wrought so powerfully with the Jury, who were somewhat in doubt what they should do in this Case, that they found him Guilty, and the Impeachment in Parliament set aside, he was Executed as a Traytor at *Tyburn*: and soon after this, the Dissenters losing of their Esteem in the eyes of the Court-party, and some Justices of Peace of *Middlesex* being sharp upon them, this person was cholen Chair-man at the Sessions of *Hicks's-Hall*, where he had an opportunity to make them as he found his time, see the resentments of his anger, but this place being held too low for a Spirit winged with so large an Ambition, he aimed at higher things, resolving like *Icarus* to be near the Sun, tho' at the hazard of melting his waxen Wings, dropping head-long into the Sea of inevitable Ruin: whereupon perceiving some hot contests in the City of *London*, about the Election of Magistrates and Officers, he turned the Edge of his Fury that way, insomuch that a *Sub-warranto* came down against the Charter of the Honourable City of *London*, and in fine, after much Pleading and Argument, *pro & contra*, the Charter was surrendered, at least in consent, by those that were in Power, and the King suspending the Execution of the Judgment obtained, caused such orders to be observed as he thought most convenient, which being so well known to the Citizens of *London*, it would appear a presumption in me to enter upon particulars; yet the chiefest cavil against the City was, taking the Toll of Markets, collecting Money to build *Cheapside Conduit*, &c. Nor was it long after this, and the Tryal of several Persons for Rioters, who attended the Election of Sheriffs and Mayor, and the Fines passing upon many worthy Citizens as Rioters on that occasion; in promoting which, this Person as a Counsellor by his florid Rhetorick was mainly instrumental, by giving the Court an account of their respective Abilicles, the better to settle the Fines: but the Lord Chief Justice

*Saunders*

*Samders* dying, he succeeded him as Lord Chief Justice of the *Kings-Bench*; in which station he was scarcely settled, but he admitted the Popish Lords to Bail, that lay under an impeachment in Parliament, and whose Bailing had been refused by the Judges his Predecessors; and now it was that he began more particularly to remember former affronts, an Example of which take in the Case of *Elias Best* a Hop-merchant in *Thames-street*, viz.

It so happened when this Person was Recorder of London, that a Jury, of which *Best* was one, having contrary to his mind, Acquitted a party Indicted at the Sessions of Peace in *Guild-hall*, for Printing and Publishing a Pamphlet, he in much heat declared that they had gone contrary to their Consciences, and stuck not to upbraid them with Perjury; for which, as a high affront put upon the Juries of London, they prayed the Court at the *Old-Baily*, that they might prefer an Indictment against him; and herein Mr. *Best* was the most active, but the Lord Chief Justice *Scruggs* then upon the Bench, after it had been a long time Argued and debated, told them that the Sessions being almost at an end, it could not be Tryed, and therefore he would desire them to defer it to the next Sessions, for the Recorder being a person of Quality, he could not suffer him to lie under the imputation of an Indictment so long; but in the Interim, he resigning his Recordership, the business fell and came to nothing; but soon after, it seems, Mr. *Best* had drank a Health to the pious Memory of *Stephen Colledge* departed, meaning the Joyner that was Executed at *Oxford*, for which he was Indicted upon an Information, and found Guilty; yet he being at large, thought fit to withdraw himself to avoid the Rigor of the Fine, &c. when so it fell out, that this person going the Circuit as Lord Chief Justice, accompanied with a great many on Horleback, Mr. *Best* came by, and asked one of the Company what Judge that was, who replied, the Lord Chief Justice *Jefferys*, and he unadvisedly told that party his name was *Best*, and desired him to remember his Service to his Lordship; upon notice of which, he immediately caused him to be fetched back, and committed him to *Tork Gaol*, from whence he was brought by *Habens Corpus* to the *Kings-Bench*, and Imprisoned for a Fine of 500*l.* &c. And other instances of the Greatness of his Stomach, tho' in another nature, is that which so remarkably happened at *Kingsfon* upon *Thames*, at the *Midsummer Assizes* held there for the County of *Surry*, 1679.

At this Assize being Council in a Case upon *Nisi prius*, before Sir *Richard Weston*, one of the Barons of the *Exchequer*, and desiring to ingrosse all the questions, without suffering those on the other side to ask the Witness what was convenient in carrying on, and managing the Cause; he was desired by the Judge to hold his Tongue, &c. upon which some words passing, this Person told him he did not use him like a Concoellor, curbing him in the managing his *Breviate*, &c. to which the Judge fiercely replied: Ha! since the King has thrown his favours upon you, in making you Chief Justice of *Chester*, you think to run down every body, if you find your self aggrieved make your complaint, here's no body cares for it: And this Person replying, That he had not been used to make complaints, but rather stopped those that were made; when being again Commanded to hold his Tongue, he sat down and wept for anger, &c. And here by the way it will not be amiss to let the Reader have a taste of some passages that happened on the publick Stage of business, in the Jocular part of this great Mans Life, and the Repartees he met with, of which I shall instance a few:

Once it happened upon a Tryal, that a plain Country fellow giving Evidence in the Court, and pressing it home, moved this person who was Counsel on the other side, to pick a quarrel with the poor mans Leather Doublet, and amongst other Interrogations bawl'd out, You fellow in the Leather Doublet, pray what have you for Swearing; the Man upon this, looking steadily on him, replied, Truly Sir, if you have no more for Lying than I have for Swearing, you might wear a Leather Doublet as well as I: This bluntly retorted, moved at that time much laughter, and filled the Town with the discourse of it.

Another time it so fell out, that some Musitioners brought an Action against a person, at whose Wedding they had play'd, for the Money they were promised or expected, when in the midst of the Evidence, this Person called to one of them, viz. You Fidler, &c. at which the Man seeming to be disgusted, he again, upon the parties alledging himself to be a Musitioner demanded what difference there was between a Musitioner and a Fidler; As much, Sir, said he, as there is between a pair Bagpipes and a Recorder; and he then being Recorder of London, it was taken as a suitable Repartee.

Being at a Country Affize as Judge, an old Man with a great Beard, came to give evidence before him, and not doing it to his mind, he began to cavil with his Beard, and amongst other expressions told him, that if his Conscience was as large as his Beard, he might well swear any thing; This so nettled the old blade, that without any respect to his greatness, he briskly replied, *My Lord, If you go about to measure Consciences by Beards, your Lordship has none*: Many more of this kind might be mentioned, but not being greatly to the purpose, they are willingly omitted.

But to return to the thread of this Discourse; passing by his vehement and pressing Discourse to the Jury against *William Lord Russell*, on his Tryal at the *Old-Baily*, which some say greatly influenced them to find him Guilty; and add, that he did it out of a Pique, in remembrance he was one of the Members of the Parliament before whom he was brought on his Knees. We find him by this time Trying of *Dr. Titus Oates* upon two Informations, upon the account of his Swearing to the *White-Horse* Consult, and *Ireland's* being in Town; and after a long Debate, wherein many sharp Repartees passed, the Jury made a shift to find him Guilty; as to the Circumstances, I refer you to the Tryal; but the Sentence was severe, and of its Effects few are ignorant, wherefore I shall pass it over, as also that of *Mr. Tho. Dangerfield*, another of the Evidences in discovering the Contrivances and carrying on of the Popish Plot, which the Papists by these manner of Proceedings accounted to be damn'd to the lowest *Erebus*. And now before any thing remarkably happened, the Kingdom was allarm'd by the landing of the late Duke of *Monmouth* at *Lyme* in *Dorset-shire*, and the Earl of *Argyle* in *Scotland*; but however these two unfortunate Gentlemen miscarrying, and losing their Lives, left a great many of their miserable Followers to feel the severity of Punishment; and as for the gleanings of the bloody Field in *England*, they came to the sitting of this Person, who with others, going down with a Commission to Try them, all the Indignities the Dissenters had put upon him came fresh into his remembrance, so that he made them find the Laws more cruel than the Sword, and wish they had fallen in the Field, rather than have come to his handling; for he breathed Death like a destroying Angel, and languish'd his very *Ermias* in Blood, a large Account of which you shall have in its proper place.



But by the way, for the sake of the *West-Country Reader*, I shall here add a true and impartial Narrative of the late Duke of *Monmouth's* whole Expedition whilst in the *West*; seeing that was the Prologue to that bloody Scene that you'll hear by and by, was acted by *George Lord Jeffries* (the Subject of our present Discourse.)

To begin then, *May 24.* Old *Stile*, We left *Amsterdam* about two of the Clock, being *Sunday Morning*, and in a Lighter Sail'd for the *Texel*, our Vessels being sent before us thither; but meeting with extream cross Winds all the way, we Arrived not till *Saturday Night*, and then went all on Bord. Here our *Man of War* with about 32 Guns (where the Dukes Person was) was under an Arrest by order of the *States of Amsterdam*, on the Complaint of our Envoy, they presuming we had been clear, but we broke through our Arrest, and *Sunday Morning* at break of Day, set Sayl for *England*. We had in all three Ships, that of 32 Guns carried most of our Men, the other two were for our *Ammunition*. We met with exceeding cross Winds, most part of the time we spent on the Seas, and Arrived not at *Lime* till *Thursday, June 11.* so that from *Amsterdam* to *Lime*, we wanted but two days of three Weeks.

We Landed without any the least Opposition, and were received with all Expressions of Joy imaginable; the Duke, as soon as he Jumpt out of his *Boat* on Land, call'd for silence, and then desired we would joyn with him in returning God Thanks for that wonderful Preservation we had met with at *Sea*, and accordingly fell on his *Knees* on the Sand, and was the Mouth of us all in a short *Ejaculation*, and then immediately well Armed, as many as we were, entred the Town.

*Friday*, the whole day was spent in Lifting of Men, which flock'd to us so fast, that we could scarce tend them with Arms.

The like, *Saturday* also; and then about ten of the Clock at Night, 300 of our Men were sent to *Bridport*, about six *English Miles* Off, to Storm that Town betimes in the Morning, which we did accordingly, taking many Prisoners out of their Lodgings, and had not our Soldiers been a little too eager of Pleader, we had made a good days work on't; but there lying about a Wood some of the Kings Forces, we were forced to Retreat, losing three

three or four Men, and killing several of theirs, and taking Eight Prisoners; this was the first Action which he had.

Sunday also was spent in Lifting, and Monday Morning; but in the Afternoon we Marched out of *Lime* for *Axminster*, a little Town four Mile off, our Party was near 2000 Foot, and 300 Horse, though we Landed not full a hundred Men, and all these in the space of four days: About two Miles from *Lime* we espied the Duke of *Albermarle*, with about 4000 Men, designing that Night to Quarter in the same Town, which we had News of on the Way; yet we March'd on in good Order, and came into the Town, lined all Hedges, Planted our Field-Pieces, and expected nothing more than that we should give them Battle, they being not an *English* Mile from the Town; they made towards us as soon as they heard that we were there; but the Duke of *Albermarle* finding his Men to be all *MILITIA*-Men of the County of *Devonshire*, and that they had no Stomach to fight against *MONMOUTH*, Retreated, when he came within a quarter of an *English* Mile of the Town. He came from *Exon* with these Forces, intending to lay a Siege against *Lime*, presuming we could not be ready in so short a time; but finding us so well prepared to receive him, he wisely Retired his Men, being in great Disorder and Confusion, supposing we had pursued them, which was *Debated*; but the Duke said, *It was not his business to fight yet, till his Men had been a little Disciplin'd, but rather to make up into the Country as fast as possible, to meet his Friends, not questioning, but there would have been in several Parts of the Kingdom some Action, on the News of his Success*; but this in the end prov'd fatal to us, for had we but followed them, we had had all their Arms, several more Men, and might have March'd in two days with little or no Opposition, to the very Gates of *Exon*, the County-Troops resolving not to fight us; and several came to us that Night with their Arms. But missing this Opportunity, we March'd on for *Taunton*, Lodging at several small Towns by the way, which still received us as kindly as possible, and all the way met with the loud Acclamations of the Country, Praying God to succeed our Arms:

Thus say we came to *Taunton*, about Twenty Mile from *Lime*. To give a particular Account of our Reception here, would

would be too tedious; the Streets throng'd with People we could scarce enter, all endeavouring to manifest their Joy at his coming, and their Houses, Doors, and Streets garnished with Green Boughs, Herbs and Flowers, all the Emblems of Prosperity.

The next day, Twenty-six young Gentlewomen, Virgins with Colours ready made at the charge of the *Towns-men*, presented them to his Grace; the Captain of them went before with a *Naked-Sword* in one Hand, and a small curious *Bible* in the other, which she presented also, making a short Speech, at which the Duke was extremely satisfied, and he assured her, *He came now in the Field, with a Design to Defend the Truths contained therein, and to Seal it with his Blood, if there should be any Occasion for it.* Nothing now could content the Countrey, but he must be Proclaimed KING, which he seemed exceeding averse to; and really I am of Opinion, from his very Heart.

They said, *The Reason why the Gentry of England moved not, was because he came on a Common-Wealth-Principle;* This being the Cry of all the Army, he was forced to yield to it, and accordingly, *Saturday Morning* he was Proclaimed; In the Afternoon came out Three PROCLAMATIONS, one setting a Sum of Money on the Kings Head, as he had done before by the other. The Second, Declaring the Parliament of *England, A Seditious Assembly;* and if they did not separate before the End of *June*, to give Power and Authority to any that would attempt to lay hold of them as Rebels and Traytors. The Third, To Declare the Duke of *Albemarle* a Traytor, (who now lay within six Miles of us, having had time to Rally his Men) if he laid not down his Arms; forthwith a Message also was sent to command him, but he sent Word, *That he was a Subject to JAMES the Second, the late King's Brother, and that he knew no other Lord.*

We tarried here till *Sunday Morning*, and then March'd for *Bridge-Water*, seven Miles from thence: We were now between four and five thousand Men, and had we not wanted Arms, could have made above ten thousand. We were receiv'd here as in other Places, but did little more than Read our *Declaration*, which we did also in all other *Towns*, the Magistrates standing

by in their Gowns; and likewise our *Proclamations*, and so March'd forward for *Glaßebury*, from *Glaßebury* design'd for *Bristol*, three days March from that place, designing to Attacque it: Accordingly we Arrived at *Cansham Bridge*, a little Town three Miles *English* from *Bristol*, intending to enter next Morning, the Duke of *Beaufort* being there with a Garrison of about *Four Thousand Men*, being here lodg'd in the Town, we were on a sudden Alarm'd with the Noise of the Approach of the Enemy, being in no small Confusion on this unsuspected News: The Duke sent one up the Tower to see whether he could discover them Marching, as soon as he came up, he saw them at the very Entrance into the Town fighting with our Men. Here we had a small Skirmish, our Men being in the Fields Adjoyning to the Town refreshing themselves; but it lasted not long, for before he could bring Word, they were fled, being not above sixty Horse-Men; they did us Mischief, Killed and Wounded above Twenty Men, whereas we killed none of theirs, only took four Prisoners and their Horses, and Wounded my Lord *Newburg*, that it was thought Mortal; they came thither, thinking it had been their own Forces, and had not our Undisciplin'd Fellows been a little too eager, and suffer'd them to come a little farther on, they would have entred the Town, and we must have had every Man of them; their Infantry was following, but on their Return came not forward. These Forces being so near, and *Bristol* being so well Mann'd also, the Duke was loth to pass the Bridge for *Bristol*, though some *Gentlemen* that came over with us, and were Prescribed upon the Account of the former Plot, being *Bristol-Men*, and knew the Hearts of the *Towns-Men*, begg'd him heartily to proceed towards it, offering themselves to go in the Head of them into the Town, by some private Ways which they knew, assuring him, *They would make no Resistance*, but could not perswade him; which had we been Possessors of, we could not have wanted Money nor Arms, the only things needful for us in that Juncture; for had we but had Arms, I am perswaded we had by this time, had in the least Twenty Thousand Men; and it would not then have been difficult for us to have March'd to *London*, with the Recruit of *Bristol*, the King not being able to make 7000 Men for the gaining of so

many Kingdoms. But God saw it not fit for us, and over-ruled our Consultations to our own Ruine, for this was in the top of our Prosperity; and yet all the while, not a Gentleman more than went over with us, came to our Assistance.

So we Marcht on to *Bath*, we lay before it in the Afternoon, and sent in our *Trumpeter* to demand the Town, but they refused to give us enterance having a strong Garrison, it being a stout People and a strong place. Having no mind to spend time in laying Sieges, we marcht on that day to a little Town called *Philips Norton*, and there lay that night, being now *Sunday* the 26th of *June*, Old-Style, Saturday Morning preparing for

*Frome*, we were drawing out our baggage for our march, and on a suddain were alarmed with the appearance of the Enemy, who had entered the Town and had lined all the Hedges and began to Fire on us; here began the briskest Rencontre we yet had, and for an hour or more we had a brisk Skirmish, but at last we beat them back, killing about thirty which lay in the place, and we lost about ten in all, and a few Wounded; they retreated with their whole Army, Pitched within a mile of the Town; and we went out also and pitched near them, but out of Musket Shot, playing Cannon on one another for some hours; they killed us but one Man all the while, but with ours we did great Execution, having the advantage of the ground, so at last they Retreated, and I have been told lost some hundreds of Men in the Battle, both killed and wounded: So we march'd on for *Frome*, a Town where we was as well beloved as at *Taunton*, where we wanted for nothing but Arms, which were by a stratagem taken from them a few days before our Entrance. Here came the unexpected News of *Argyle's* being Defeated, and likewise of the advance of the King's Force from *London* with considerable Baggage, and thirty Field-Pieces. This News, together with our want of Money and Arms, not seeing which way to avoid these Forces, we were at a stand, and not a little ~~surprised~~. 'Twas at last agreed on, that we that came with the Duke should get good Horses that Night, and so for *Pool*, a little Sea-Port Town not far off, where we were to seize a Ship, and set forth for *Holland* again, leaving our Infantry to the Mercy of the Country.

This was much like that Resolution of the *Hollanders* in the

time of the Civil War with *Spain*, being as we then were, in despair of making better Terms, and not daring to enter *Salisbury Plain*, because their Horse being so much better then ours, their Men being all Disciplin'd, ours not, we could not Face them in so plain and open a Country, so that we retreated backward, in the mean time resolving to see what *London* would do, having a good an opportunity offered them: The Soldiers being called forth, and not two thousand Men to be had for their defence if they had but attempted any thing; this disheartned our Men, and several of them coming home to their own Country, having felt by experience the hardships of War, withdrew from us.

We came well back again to *Bridgwater*, and were received with wonted Love; we arrived here on Friday the 3d. of *July*, and resolved here to Fortifie so as to hold our ground till we heard from *London*. Saturday in the Afternoon News was brought of the Approach of the Kings Forces within a Mile and a half of the Town where they had Encamped, the Duke went up into the Tower and there took a view of them, and seeing them so careless, and their Horse at some distance from the Army, in a little Town, the Infantry being in *Sedge Moore*. He called a Council on it, and it was concluded on, that we should fall on them in the dead of the Night, accordingly having a Guide to conduct us on in a private way, we Marcht out about Eleven of the Clock in the Night, and about one fell on them in their Tents. There was a Ditch between us, and the Guide promised to conduct them over an easie formable Place, but our Men seeing the Enemy just before them, ran furiously on and lost the Guide, so that while they endeavored to recover over that place the Enemy got on their Legs, and put themselves in Order, and now began as fierce a Battle as perhaps ever was fought in *England* in so short a time, our Foot fought as well as ever Foot fought, but not a Horse came up; had our Horse but assisted, we must have beaten them out of the Field. But our Horses would not stand at the noise of Drums and Guns, so that we soon lost two of our Pieces of Ordinance, and we had but four in all, and then but one more in the Field. our Foot slung most of their shot over, so that the Men for the most part was killed in the Rear, and that run, but the Front stood still, and had we done but as much Execution in the Front as we did in the Rear,



Rear, the day had been our own, but God would not have it, their time was not then come: By this time their Horses came up, and having six or eight hundred good disciplined Men, well Mounted and well Arm'd, ours neither; our Foot having shot away all their Ammunition, and our Baggage being not then in the Field, they were forced to Retreat, being all in Confusion.

Having no Mony left, and our Party thus unexpectedly repulsed, the Duke seeing he could not hold it any longer, Fled with my Lord *Gray*.

The Dukes Party was said to be about three thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse; we had more, at least five thousand Men and Horse, but not well Arm'd, yet in the Field. 'Tis said we lost not above three hundred, and they Foot; but after when we were routed in our retreat lost a vast many more; tho they pursued not in some hours after.

The most remarkable Persons that were taken in this total Rout, were Collonel *Holmes*, Major *Perrot*, the Constable of *Crookhorn*, and Mr. *Williams*, Servant to the late Duke of *Monmouth*.

After the Field was clear of the Dukes Men, the Earl of *Feverham* Marched with five hundred Foot and a Party of Horse and Dragoons to *Bridgwater*, where he found the Dukes Forces that were left there, fled and dispersed into several Places: When his Lordship having left these Men in the Town, under the Command of Collonel *Kirk*, and hearing the late Duke of *Monmouth* was fled with about fifty Horse, the greatest number of the Dukes Men that were left together, he sent out divers Parties in pursuit of him and others that fled the Field. When on the 7<sup>th</sup> of *July*, about five in the Morning, some of the Lord *Lumley's* Men seized the Lord *Gray* and another Person near *Holt-Lodge* in *Dorsetshire*, four miles from the West of *Ringwood*; and the said Lord *Lumley* making further inquiry among the Cottis, was informed by one *Anna Ferrant* that two Men went over a Hedge, proving to be the out bounds of many Inclosures, some of which were over grown with Fern, others with Pease and Oats; but Guards being set upon the Avenues, after divers attempts to escape, the *Brandenburgh*, one of the Parties observed to enter the Ground, was taken on the 8<sup>th</sup> day of *July*, about five in the Morning, who confessing he departed from the late Duke of *Monmouth* about one of the

the Clock that morning in the out-bounds, diligent search was made; when about Eleven of the Clock the same morning he was found, by one *Henry Parking*, hid in a Ditch, covered with Fern, who calling others to assist him, the said late Duke was in the end Taken, and together with the Lord *Gray*, and the *Brandenburgh*, with a strong Guard brought by easie Journeys to *White-Hall*, where they arrived on the 13th of *July*, and after some Examination were committed to the *Tower*, when on *Wednesday* the 15th of *July*, the late Duke of *Monmouth*, pursuant to a War-rant Signed for his Execution, upon his Attaindure of *High-Treason*, was delivered to the Sheriffs of *London* and *Middlesex*, about Ten in the morning, and conducted to a Scaffold erected on *Tower-Hill*, where after about half an hours continuance, he laying down his Head, had it striken off by the Executioner, the which, together with his Body, being put into a Coffin covered with Velvet, were carried away in a Velvet-covered Hearse, in order to his Interment.

After the Duke was Beheaded, many Prisoners taken, and those that fled by Parcels, taken up and down, were secured in divers Goals, in order to their Prosecution, as was said according to Law; which was the Occasion of this great Man's shewing his parts at that Degree as he did, no one else fit to be made a Tool for such a Bloody Tragedy as he acted.

The Tryals were deferred (for some time after the fatal Blow given to the Duke of *Monmouth* on *Tower-Hill*, which was the 15th of *July* following) because of my Lords being at *Tunbridge*; but the latter end of *August*, he with a special Commission of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, assisted with four other Judges, set forward with a Party of Horse, and made by special Commission their General. The first place he came at was *Winchester*, where were divers Prisoners on Suspicion; but here began the Tragedy, for the Lady *Lisle* was there Arraigned for *High-Treason*, in Harboring Mr. *Hicks* and Mr. *Nelphrope*, that had been concerned with the Duke; the Lady being on Tryal, the Jury were dissatisfied once and again; but my Lords Threats and other Managery, so disposed the Jury, that at last they brought the Lady in Guilty; on which he pronounced the Sentence of Death on her, as usual in such Cases; but she had the favour of being Beheaded; their o-  
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ther Prisoners were carried to *Salisbury*; and this was the most remarkable thing at that Assizes.

From thence they set forward for *Salisbury*, where were many Prisoners that had been pick'd up and down the Countrey, then in the Goal, the which, with those that were brought from *Winchester*, were ordered to be carried to *Dorchester*, there not being Evidence enough to accomplish what was then designed by my Lord; so that little of moment passed there, but to pursue the Matter proceeds from thence to *Dorchester*, where he with his Assistants, Gown-Men and Sword-Men, Arrived on the 3d. of September, on which day being *Thursday*, the Commission was Read. *Friday Morning* was an Excellent Sermon Preached before their Lordships, by a worthy Divine, Chaplain to a worthy Person of that County, much tending to Mercy: It was observed, that while my Lord Chief-Justice was at Church in Prayers, as well as at Sermon, he was seen to laugh, which was so unbecoming a Person in his Character, that ought in so weighty an Affair as he was then entring upon, to have been more serious, and have craved the Help and Assistance of God Almighty.

The Sermon being over, their Lordships repaired to the Court, which by Order of the Lord Chief-Justice was hung with Red Cloath, a Colour suitable to such a succeeding bloody Tragedy, being accompanied by a Numerous Company of the Gentry of that County, as well as the Flower of the Neighbouring Counties of *Somerset* and *Devonshire*, and then proceeded to give his Charge; in which Charge, by reason of the Severity of his Sentiments, and Positions laid down to make Discoveries of all such as were Abettors, Aidors or Assistants to the late Duke of *Monmouth*, on Pain of *High-Treason*, which was a great Surprize to all the Auditors, and so vehemently Urged, and so passionately Expressed, as seemed rather the Language of a *Romish Inquisitor*, than a *Protestant Judge*; and then Adjourned until eight of the Clock next Morning, when was a Bill found against Thirty Persons, charged for *High-Treason*, for Aiding and Assisting the late Duke of *Monmouth*; who put themselves on their Tryals, notwithstanding my Lord's threatening, *That in Case any did put themselves on Tryal, and the Country found them Guilty, they should have but a little Time to live; and at the same time Insinuated, That*

it were better to Plead Guilty, if they expected any Favour.

These Thirty being on Tryal, the Evidences being Sworn and Examined before the JURY: Upon the whole, by the violent Deportment of the Lord Chief-Justice, and sharpness of the JURY, they found Twenty-nine GUILTY, though some of them were very hardly dealt with, and not so Criminal as my Lord and their Countrey imagined. Particularly amongst the Twenty-nine, were Mr. *Matthew Bragg* of *Ibhorncomb*, and *Joseph Speed* of *Culliton*, in the County of *Devonshire*, and Mr. *Smith*, Constable of *Chardstock*, in the said County; and *George Seward*, of *Culliton* aforesaid: The Circumstances of each of these, and the severity of their being found Guilty, &c. shall be shewed in its proper place, before we take leave of this Town, and proceed on in this *Western Expedition*.

The said Twenty-nine being found (as before) Guilty, my Lord immediately pronounced Sentence of Death on them all, as usual in Cases of *High-Treason*, and did the same Night give a Warrant to the Sheriff, for the Execution of thirteen of the twenty-nine on Monday following; which accordingly was done, notwithstanding great Application was made to the Lord Chief-Justice by Gentlemen of the best Quality, in this and the Neighbouring Countries, for a Reprieve of Mr. *Bragg*, to all which he was Deaf, and not to be prevailed upon; though he was assured of his Honesty, and true Conformity to the Church of *England*, yet it availed nothing. At last, it was only requested for ten days Respite, yet that had no better Effect; but on Monday, he with twelve more of that number, were accordingly Executed at *Dorchester*. The Christian like Deportment, and other things, relating to the said Mr. *Bragg* and others, shall be made out before we leave this Discourse.

In the mean time, this Proceeding was designed to shorten Business, and to wheedle the rest that were to follow, to a Confession, which without it, the tenth part of them could not be proved Guilty; a Method was also taken without President, to entrap many poor Ignorant People, by a couple of Officers that were sent into the Goal, to call over, and take the Names of the Prisoners; on Promise, if they confest, they might expect Mer-

cy, otherwise not; which many did. And this was Written so, that had they pleaded not Guilty, these two were designed to have been Evidences against them from their own Confessions, which so disposed the remaining great Numbers, that all, except a very few, Pleaded Guilty, which put an end to any farther Tryal.

The only thing remaining, was the pronouncing of Sentence on them, which were in Number 292. who received Sentence of Death all at once. One Mr. *Laurence* put himself in Tryal, but by the Jury found Guilty, whose Case was so hard, his Circumstances being so small to be condemned to die; and had actually suffered, had not Application been made to my Lords Favourites, and with the payment and securing of 400*l.* preserved him from Execution; his Case being so remarkable, his Defence so honest, that we cannot pass it by in Silence: the particulars of which, you shall have in its proper Place, with others that are most remarkable.

This Matter being Adjusted, and Execution Awarded to about Eighty, which were Executed, and their Quarters sent up and down the Countrey to the dread of their Spectators, as well as the Annoyance of the Travellers; his extraordinary Whippings, though unmerciful, are not to be taken notice of; so we leave this place, and proceed towards the City of *Exon*: In their way thither, lying at an Honourable Gentlemans House, divers of the Neighbouring Parishes made their Petitions to the Lord Chief Justice in behalf of some Relations concerned; it hapned that through some Disorder amongst his Servants, some Pistols were fired in the Night, which gave him a Suspicion, or at least he took it, of some design upon him; on which at parting, said, *Not a Man of all those Parishes that were of that Vicinitude, if found Guilty, should escape.* And so we proceed and arrive at *Exon*, where to the number of 243 Prisoners being in Custody for assisting the said Duke of *Monmouth*, one amongst the rest, Mr. *Fower Acers* Pleading not Guilty, he being found by the Jury, the said Lord Chief Justice immediately pronounced the Sentence upon him, and immediate Execution, which was done to terrifie the rest, who all Pleaded Guilty; so that these unfortunate People had not time to have the fairness of Tryals allowed them, which

is a right due by the Laws of God and Man. The remaining number he all condemned, and here was a little sparing; not so many order'd Execution as was in the other County, but those that were Executed, were hung up and down in most Towns of the County, and then Quarters and Heads scattered up and down their High-ways and publick places. An extraordinary Sentence of severe Whipping was pronounced against Mr. *Samuel Staple* of *Thorncomb* in the said County, which in its proper place, you shall have an account of the Crime; but these are Trifles; and we shall endeavour to pursue our Design and make as quick Dispatch as we can, that time may not be lost, the King served, and this Miceants thirst quenched with Protestant Blood, which is always well pleasing to Inquisitors, and so proceed to the Town of *Taunton*. At which place being Arrived, it was thought fit by the Lord Chief-Justice to be as expeditious as might be; so that late in the Afternoon the Court sat, where the Commission being Read, he proceeded to give the Charge, which was so very keen and full of sharp Invectives, as if the Countrey it-self had not been able to make Expiation to his Lordship, to quench his Thirst in the Blood of those that ventur'd their all in Defence of the *Protestant Religion*; and here we enter upon the bloodiest part of the Tragedy. In this Town, and at *Wells* in the said County, were more than 500 Prisoners.

To begin at *Taunton*; the next Morning after the Charge given, the Assizes began, where some few put themselves on Trial, who were found Guilty, and immediately ordered to be Executed; of which number, one Mr. *Simon Hamlin* was one, who was a zealous worthy good Man, and his Case no way dangerous; but on the contrary, had he had to do with a Judge of another Stamp; his particular Case you shall have before we conclude. To proceed to the rest, this first Cruelty caused the rest to Plead Guilty in hopes of Favour, which was only a few days to live, which those that Plead'd had not. Amongst these at *Taunton* were divers eminent Persons that had been taken in the *West*, and carried to *London*, and brought down there to compleat the Bloody Tragedy in those parts: Mr. *Parrot*, Mr. *Hewling* the Elder, Mr. *Lisle*, Mr. *Jenkins*, Mr. *Hucker*, and divers others were very Eminent. To take notice of every particular in this Matter, will  
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alter our Design, and swell the Book to too great a Bulk, being only designed for a Pocket Companion, and useful it may be, to see the Cruelty of men when in their Power, and how the Devil stirreth up his Instruments, to pursue those that adventure for the Cause of God and Religion. Here were in this County Executed 239. the rest that were Condemned, were Transported, except such as were able to furnish Coin, and that not a little, for an account was taken of mens Abilities, according to which, the purchase for Life must be managed by two of his Favourites, who had a small share, the rest went into his Lordships Pocket, according to the Actions of Rome, where Sins of any kind may be pardoned for money. This indeed was a glorious design in the Eye of *Mother Church*, to Root out Hereſie by Executions and Transportations, to make room for a pack, here Expedition must be made to conclude at *Wells*, for that a great man being fallen, our great Judge designing his Chair, which in short, he had as the Reward of so Eminent and extraordinary a piece of Service as he did for Advancement of the *Roman Catholic* Interest, which is cruel always where it prevails.

Thus we leave the Town of *Taunton*, after awarding Execution to many there, and their Quarters to be scattered up and down the County; and so we proceed to *Wells*, where divers Prisoners that had been carried from Goal to Goal, in Expectation of Evidence against them, were in Carts removed to *Wells*; in which place, to finish this Expedition, the same Method as was at the former Allizes, was also taken here by a severe Charge, affronting the Gentlemen of this County, as he had done in all the Counties before, terrifying the Juries (when any Pleaded to make them to bring in the Persons Guilty, some of which being over-awed, and it is doubted, contrary to their Judgments, which is so, *the Lord forgive them*.

Here were many Eminent and Worthy Persons that received the Sentence of Death; but the Executions of the County being put together, as you have before seen, we make no particular Division of the Number here, and the number at *Taunton*, the whole being Rectified before. We shall therefore endeavour to be as brief as we can, to give you what we think Material, and araly matter of Fact; my Lord now being come to conclude

this.

this extraordinary Commission; & in haste to be Elevated, maketh all manner of Dispatch to repair to the King then at *Windsor*, to give an Account of his Transactions, and to receive the Reward of his meritorious Service in this Butchering of Protestants, which is so acceptable to his Holiness, and his Bigotted Disciples, as nothing can be more; and indeed if you will believe them, a Work that merits Heaven at last, besides what temporal Preferments are thought fit in this World. If this cruel Judge were a true Protestant, his Case is much the more worse, being made use of as a Tool to destroy, and carry on *Papish Designs*? Thus the Affairs being ended, the Country filled with Heads and Quarters of those that were Executed, the rest that had not wherewith to purchase their Lives, left in Custody in order to Transportation; my Lord being come to the King to give an account of his Affairs in the *West*, the great Seal being to be disposed of by the Death of the late Keeper, he kiss'd the King's Hand for it, and was made Lord *Chancellor*, which was only an earnest of his Desert for so eminent and extraordinary a piece of Service, so now that which remains, is to give an Account of divers that had fled, and hid themselves up and down in Holes and Privacies, whose Friends make all Application to some great Men or other to procure their Pardons; some to this, and others to such as they thought Favourites of the King; but the Rewards must be Ascertained before any Application could be made: Divers Lists being sent up, and the Rewards Ascertained, which amongst many of them put together, did amount to considerable, so that it was now, who could find a Friend to Relieve his Distressed Relations, which were forced to wander up and down in Caves and Desarts, for fear of being taken; but this Misfortune attended the Agents, that unless my Lord *Chancellor* were used, by his Creatures, that were allowed by him so to do; other Applications commonly met with Disappointments, which caused an Emulation amongst the great men; one supposing to have deserved the Kings Ear as well as the other, which caused other measures to be taken, though some were wheedled out of their Money; At last came out a general Pardon, with Exceptions, very few, if any of those that were solicited for, not being Excepted, were of course Pardoned; but however, divers Sums of Money having  
been

been paid, no Restitution to be had, for *from Hell is no Redemption*: A Worthy Western Gentleman, his purchase came to 15 or 16000 Guineas, which my Lord Chancellor had. Amongst the Exceptions, were a parcel of *Taunton* Girls, some of which were Children of eight or ten years old, however something was to be made of them, if these Ladies were Judged Guilty of Treason for presenting the Duke of *Monmouth* with Colours, &c. and for to preserve these from Trials, they were given to the Maids of Honour to make up their *Christmas Boxes*; so that an Agent of theirs was sent down into the Country, to compound with their Parents, to preserve them from what might after follow, if taken, so, that some according to Ability, gave 100*l*. others 50*l*. all which, however did not answer the Ladies first Expectations; yet it did satisfy, and they were accordingly Pardoned: Thus we have given you an Account of what hath happened on this occasion, being in every point Truth: We might have farther Enlarged, but that would have spoiled the Design, and swoln our Pocket Companion to a Volume too big.

We shall only according to our promise, give the particular Cases of some of those that were Condemned and Executed; as also of some others that were most eminent, of their Dying Words, and of their Christian-like behaviour at the place of Execution; which may serve as an encouragement to all true Protestants to go on in their Christian Profession, and not to waver, God Almighty being able to sweeten the Bitterest Sufferings, and will make good his Promise, *Never to leave nor forsake those that are his.*

*The Dying Speeches, and the Behaviour of some of them, with the Circumstances of their Cases, take as followeth:*

**W**E begin with Mr. *Matthew Bragg*, who was a Gentleman, and descended from an Antient and Good Family; he was bred an Attorney, in which he practised the Law, his Case being this; He hapned to be upon the Road Riding Home to his House, being come from a Gentleman's House for whom he kept Courts,

Courts; he as before, bring met with by a Party of Horse belonging to the Duke of *Monmouth*, who were going to search the House of a *Roman Catholick* for Arms, who lived two or three Miles from the place they met him, they required him to go with them; and shew them the way, he knowing the Country better than they did; he desired to be excused, telling them, *It was none of his Business, and besides had no Arms*; but his Excuses signified nothing; they forced him amongst them; where they went, when being come, a Party enter'd the House and searcht it; Mr. *Bragg* never dismounted, they being then satisfied, took him along with them to *Chard*, where then the Duke of *Monmouth* was; being there, after having set up his Horse where he used to do, often having occasion there, he was much tampered with to Engage in the Design, but he refused it; but the next Morning made haste out of Town, not seeing the Duke at all; calling for his Horse, it was told him, *That it was seized for the Dukes Service*; so then he took his Cane and Gloves, and walked to his own House, which was about five or six Miles, and was no more concerned in the Affair, than that after the Dukes Defeat at *Kings-Sedge-Moore*, some busie Person informeth and requireth a Warrant from a Justice of Peace for the said Mr. *Bragg*, who obliged him to enter into a Recognizance to appear at the next Assizes, the said Justice accounting the matter in it self but Trivial; and indeed all Men did judge him out of Danger. At *Dorchester* he appeared in Court to discharge his Bayl, on which he was presently Committed, and the next day being Arraigned, Pleading not Guilty, put himself on the Trial of God and his Countrey, which found him and 28 more of 30, Guilty; the Lord-Chief-Justice often saying, *If any Lawyer or Parson came under his Inspection, they should not escape*; the Evidence against him, was the *Roman Catholick*, whose House was searcht, and a Woman of Ill Fame, to whom the Lord-Chief Justice was wonderful kind; but his Evidence which were more than 20, to prove his Innocence, signified nothing; the Jury being well instructed by my Lord-Chief-Justice. Being thus found Guilty; Sentence was presently Pronounced, and Execution awarded, notwithstanding all the Interest that was made for him, as before Related.

Thus

Thus being condemned *Saturday*, and ordered to be Executed *Monday*, he spent the Residue of his little time very devoutly, and much becoming a good Christian and a true Protestant of the Church of *England*, all which availed nothing with this Protestant Judge: he was frequently visited by a worthy Divine of the Church of *England*, who spent much time with him and received great Satisfaction from him, the said Divine told me that his deportment, his behaviour and converse, was so much like an extraordinary Christian; that he could not in the least doubt but this violent passage would put him into the fruition of happiness he wished and desired a little longer time out of no other design, but thoroughly to repent him of his Sins, and make himself more sensible of and fit for to receive the Inheritance that is prepared for those that continue in well doing to the end: when he came to the place of Execution with great Courage and Resolution, being as he said prepared for Death, he behaved himself very gravely and devoutly, being asked when he was on the Scaffold, whether he was not sorry for his being concerned in this Rebellion? He replied, that he knew of no other that he was Guilty of, and prayed them not to trouble him, adding he was not the first that was Martyr'd, and was formerly a Christian as to forgive his Enemies. And after some private Devotions he suddenly was Translated, as we should see his Corpse was not laid out on Earth to Heaven, the only Reward of such a Person. This Judge, was so gentle to his Friends and Enemies, that it is his lament amongst his Associates.

## The Behaviour of Mr. Smith Constable of Chardstock.

ANother Eminent Person that suffered with him at the same time and place was one Mr. Smith, who was Constable of Chardstock, who having some monies in his hands that belonged to the Militia, which come to the knowledge of some of the D's. Friends they obliged him to deliver it to them which he was forced to deliver and for this was Indicted for High Treason, in assisting the D. of Marlborough which he pleaded not Guilty, the Evidence against him were the same with those that had been against Mr. Bragg, the said Mr. Smith informed the Court and the Jury, what little Credit ought to be given to the Evidence; the L. C. thundered at him, saying thou Villain thou blinks I see thee already with a Halter about thy Neck, thou Impudent Rebel to challenge these Evidences that are for the King, to which the Prisoner reply'd very boldly, my Lord, I now see which way I am going and right or wrong I will dye, I be that comfort my self with, That Your Lordship cannot destroy my Body, It is out of your Power to touch my Soul, God forgive your Rashness, Pray my Lord know it is not a small matter you are about, the blood of Man is more precious than the whole World, and then was stopped from saying any more, the Evidence being heard all strict charge was given the Jury about him, in the third hour the Jury brought him in Guilty, so that he with all rest received the Sentence of Death all together, and were Executed on Monday; but by Particular order from my Lord he was ordered to be first Executed, the day being come for Execution being Monday, he with a Courage undaunted was brought to the Place



Place, where with Christian Exhortations to his Brethren that suffered with him, he was ordered to prepare, being the first that was to be Executed, where he speak as followeth, Christian Friends, I am now as you see lanching into Eternity, so that it may be expected I should speak something, before I leave this miserable World, and pass through those Sufferings, which are dreadful to Flesh and Blood, which indeed shall be but little, because I long to be before a just Judge; where I must give an account not only for the occasion, of my Sufferings now, but for Sins long unrepented of which indeed hath brought me to this dismal place and shameful Death; and truly dear Country Men having Ransaked my Soul, I cannot find my small concern with the D. of M. doth deserve this heavy Judgment on me, but I know as I said before, It is for Sins long unrepented of, I dye in Charity with all Men, I desire all of you to bear me witness, I dye a true Professor of the Church of England; Beseeching the Lord still to stand up in the Defence of it, God forgive my Passionate Judges, and cruel and hasty Jury, God forgive them they know not what they have done, God bless the King; and though his Judges had no mercy on me, I wish he may find mercy, when he stands most in need of it, make him O Lord a Nursing Father to the Church, let mercy flow abundantly from him, if it be thy will to those poor Prisoners, to be hereafter tryed; and Lord, if it be thy holy will, stop this Issue of Christian Blood, and let my guiltless Blood be the last spilt on this account. Gentlemen all farewell, farewell all the things of the World, then Singing some few Verses of a Psalm, and putting up some private Ejaculations to himself, said, O Lord into thy hands I commend my Spirit, and so submitted to the Executioner, Sept. 7th. 85.

*The Behaviour and dying Speech of Mr. Joseph Speed of Culliton.*

**A**T the same time and place, as he came near the place of execution he spying his Country-Man and Friend, called him and said I am glad to see you here now, because I am not known in these parts; being answered by his Friend, I am sorry, to see you in this condition, he replies, it is the best day I ever saw, I thank God I have not lead my Life as Unchristian like as many have done, having since the years of 16 always had the checks of Conscience on me, which made me to avoyd many gross and grievous Sins, my course of Life hath been well known to you, yet I cannot justifie my self, all Men err, I have not been the least of Sinners, therefore cannot excuse my self, but since my confinement I have received so great comfort, in some assurance of the Pardon of my Sins, that I can now say, I am willing to dye to be dissolved, and to be with Christ, and say to Death where is thy Sting, and to the Grave where is thy Victory. Being asked by some rude Souldiers; whether he was not sorry for the Rebellion; he was found Guilty of; he Couragously replyed, if you call it Rebellion, I can assure you I had no sinister ends in being concerned, for my whole design in taking up Arms under the D. of M. was to fight for the Protestant Religion; which my own conscience dictated me to, and which the said D. declared for, and had I think a lawful Call and Warrant for so doing, and do not question that if I have committed any Sin in it, but that it is pardoned, I pray Mr. Sheriff let me be troubled no farther in answering of questions, but give me leave to prepare my self, (those few minutes I have left) for another

World,

World, and go to my Jesus; who is ready to receive me, then calling to his Friend who stood very near him, said my dear Friend you know I have a dear Wife and Children, who will find me wanting being somewhat incumbered in the World, let me desire you as a dying Man to see that she be not abused, and as for my poor Children, I hope the Father of Heaven will take care for them, and give them grace to be dutiful to their distressed Mother, and so with my dying Love to all my Friends, when you see them, I take leave of you and them and all the World, desiring your Christian Prayers for me to the last moment, then repeating some Sentences of Scripture, as *Colossians Chap. 3. vers. 1, 2.* If your then, &c. and Praying very fervently for a quarter of an hour said, I thank God I have Satisfaction; I am ready and willing to suffer shame for his name, and so powering forth some private Ejaculations to himself and lifting up his hands, the Executioner did his Office: The Soldiers then present said they never before were so taken with a dying Man's Speech, his courage and Christian-like Resolution, caused many violent Men against the Prisoners, to repent of their Tyranny, towards them; some of whom in a short time dyed full of horror, and thus fell this good Man, a true Protestant and one that held out to the end.

Account of his last Undertaking in the design, which was long before in view, for there he agreed to stand by and assist the D. of M. when opportunity offered, in order to which, he went to Oxford with him, and there continued until this Expedition, in which God had thought fit to frustrate his and other good Men's Expectations; He believed the Protestant Religion was bleeding, and in a step towards Extirpation, and therefore he with these his Brethren, that were to follow him, and thousands more had adventured

An Account of those that suffered at Bridport and Lime.

**A**T Bridport one *John Sprake*, who was a very good Man, and behaved himself with a great deal of Christian-like Courage to the End; His Speech and his Devotions, &c. must be omitted, not being possible to take them, by reason of the rudeness, &c. and the shortness of the time allowed them by the Soldiers.

Next Place was *Lime*, where many of Note dyed: Particularly, *Coll. Holmes*, who was the first of those there executed, near the same Place where they Landed, when they came ashore with the *D. of M.* being brought to the Place of Execution after some difficulty; for the Horses that were first put into the Sled would not stir, which obliged those concerned to get others, which they did from the Coachman, who had that Morning brought them to Town; when they were put into the Sled, they broke it in pieces, which caused the Prisoners to go on foot to the Place of execution, where being come, as I told you before, the *Coll.* began thus at the Foot of the Ladder, he sat down with an Aspect altogether void of Fear; but on the contrary with a kind of a smiling countenance, so began to speak to the Spectators, to this purpose, That he would give them an Account of his first Undertaking in the design, which was long before in *London*, for there he agreed to stand by and assist the *D. of M.* when opportunity offered, in order to which, he went to *Holland* with him, and there continued, until this Expedition, in which God had thought fit to frustrate his and other good Mens Expectations; He believed, the *Protestant Religion* was bleeding, and in a step towards Extirpation, and therefore he with these his Brethren, that were to suffer with him, and Thousands more had adventured

red their Lives and their All for to save it; but God Almighty had not appointed them to be the Instruments in so glorious a Work, yet notwithstanding he did verily believe and doubred not, but that God would make use of others, that should meet with better success, tho' the way or means was not yet visible, but of this he did not doubt; he also was satisfied of the D's Title, so that matter did not afflict him on account of this engaging on his Score, and going on further with Discourse of this Nature, he was asked by a Person, why he did not pray for the King? He with a smiling countenance, answered, I am sorry you do not yet understand the difference between Speaking and Praying; and having ended his Discourse, he then prepared himself by *Prayer* for his Dissolution, which was very devout and pious for half an hour; but in it not mentioning the Name of the King, was charged as before, to which he replied, as he was a man, he prayed for him in General, praying for All mankind.

After having ended his *Prayer*, he took occasion to speak to his suffering Brethren, taking a solemn leave of them, encouraging them to hold out to the end, and not to waver observing that this being a Glorious Sun Shining day, I doubt not though our Breakfast be sharp and bitter, it will prepare us, and make us meet for a comfortable Supper, with our God and Saviour, where all Sin and sorrow shall be wiped away, so embracing each of them, and kissing of them, told the Sheriff, you see I am imperfect only one Arm, I shall want Assistance to help me upon this Tragical Stage, which was presently done, and Execution suddenly followed, after which followed Mr. Sampson Larke, who was a very eminent pious Man, and had lived in that Town but little before many Years, he was there well acquainted, and all People that knew him had a value for him, behaving

behaving himself with that Humility and Circumspection as no body could have any other occasion but, to value him, he designed to have spoken somewhat on a portion of Scripture, and was beginning, having mentioned the place he intended to speak upon, but was interrupted and told, the work of the day being great, they should want time. So then he stopt and replied, he could make application where he should not meet with interruption, and so apply'd himself to Prayer, which he performed with great Devotion and Zeal, for a quarter of an hour to the great satisfaction of the Auditors, and so taking leave of his suffering Brethren, he mounted the Stage, which was to be the last Act he made in this World, being on the Ladder he saw some of his Friends and Neighbours, weeping and mourning for him, to whom he spake, pray weep not for me, I am going to a place of Bliss and Happiness, wherefore pray repair to your Houses, and 'ere you get thither, I doubt not, but I shall be happy with my God and Saviour, where all tears shall be wiped away, and nothing shall remain but Hallelujahs to all Eternity.

There was also Mr. *William Hewling* of *London*, a young Gentleman under twenty, who came over with the D. of M. he seemed to be in a calm, and composed frame of Spirit, and with a great deal of Courage and Seriousness, he behaved himself; there is already something said of his converse and discourse, which amongst others is Printed; therefore we shall say nothing more of him, but that in all manner of Appearance he dyed a good Christian, true Protestant, and doubtless now enjoys the benefit of it: there were several worthy Men more there Executed, viz. Mr. *Christopher Battiscombe*, Dr. *Temple*, Captain *Madders*, Captain *Mathews*, Captain *Kid*, &c. in all twelve, who all of them dyed with that Courage and Resolution



Resolution as became Christians, and such who eminently had adventured their Lives and Fortunes, in defence of what was most dear to them, and namely our Religion, which though God did not think those fit to defend and secure it yet in his infinite wisdom, we hope it will be in some measure secured by other Instruments, the Glory of the same being only due to him. So that now leaving this Place, we proceed to other parts of the Country, where with the like Butchery were only five Executed, amongst which was one M. Tyler of *Bristol*, who had had Command in the Dukes Army, where he behaved himself very stoutly to the last, after the Army was dispersed, he amongst others were taken, received Sentence of Death at *Dorchester*, and here brought for the Completion of the same, and from hence we hope was Translated to Heaven;—he spent his time between the Sentence and Execution very devoutly, in confirming and strengthening those that were to be his fellow Sufferers. And made it his business, to bring them to a willingness to submit to, and a preparedness for, Death; The day being come and he brought to the Place of Execution, he thus spoke, my Friends you see I am now on the brink of Eternity, and in a few minutes, shall be but Clay, you expect I should say something, as is usual in such cases; as to the matter of fact I dye for, it doth not much trouble me, knowing to my self the ends for which I engaged with the D. of M. were both good and honourable; here being stop'd, and not suffered to proceed farther; he then comforted his fellow sufferers, desiring them to joyn with him in Singing a Hymn, which he himself composed for the occasion as followeth.

1.

*O Lord how Glorious is thy Grace,  
And wondrous large thy Love ;  
At such a dreadful time and place,  
To such as Faithful prove.*

2.

*If thou wilt have thy Glory hence ;  
Though a shameful death we dye,  
We Bless thee for this Providence,  
To all Eternity.*

3.

*Let these Spectators see thy Grace,  
In thy Poor Servants shine ;  
While we by Faith behold thy Face,  
In that blest Son of thine.*

4.

*Though Men our Bodies may abuse,  
Christ take our Souls to rest :  
Till he brings forth the joyful news,  
Ye are my Fathers blest.*

5.

*Appear for those that plead thy Cause,  
Preserve them in the way,  
Who own King Jesus, and his Laws,  
And dare not but obey.*

6.

*O God confound our cruel Foes,  
Let Babylon come down ;  
Let England's King be one of them,  
Shall raze her to the Ground.*

7. *Though*

## 7.

*Through Christ we yield our Souls to thee,  
Accept us on his Score;  
That where he is there we may be,  
To Praise thee ever more.*

After the Hymn Sung he Prayed devoutly, for half an hour; after Prayer he gave great satisfaction to all present of his Assurance of Heaven, had many weeping Eyes for him, and was much lamented in the Town, tho a stranger to the place, so unbuttoning himself, said to the Executioner, I fear not what Man can do unto me; I pray thee do thy work in mercy, for I forgive thee with all my Heart, and I also pray to God for to forgive thee, dont mangle my Body too much, and so lifting up his hands to Heaven, the Executioner did his Office, there was also one *William Cox*, that dyed with him, who also dyed very couragiously despising the shame, in hopes and expectation of a future better Estate; he and his two Sons were some of the first that came to the *D. of M.* and all taken and all condemned together, the Father only suffered, the Sons by providence were preserved;—When he was going to Execution he desired leave to see his Sons, then in another Prison in the Town, to whom he gave his Blessing, and though he was going to be Executed, yet had that satisfaction to hope that God would preserve them which was so.

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*An Account of those Executed at Sherborn.*

**A**T *Sherborn*, in the same County were Executed twelve, who all dyed Couragiously, especially one  
F 2 Mr.

Mr. *Gliffon* of *Teovel*, in the County of *Somerfet*, his extraordinary deportment and carriage at the Place of Execution, was so very considerable, as gave great satisfaction to his Friends, and Amazement to his Enemies; he declared to the World, that he dyed a true Protestant, and had not ingaged with the D. of M. but Judged it high time to stand up for the Defence of the same, though God Almighty had thought fit, to frustrate his designs and to bring him to that Place, to Seal the same with his Blood; also *John Savage* and *Richard Hall* of *Culliton*, in the County of *Devon*, suffered at the same time and Place in their particular Conversation, they valued most those that they saw most of Piety in, and pittied others that they saw not so well prepared, saying that the remembrance of our vanity, may cause compassion towards such as were in such a Condition, exhorting all to be serious and to consider their latter end, which deserved the greatest attention of mind, the way to dye comfortably being to prepare for it seriously, and if God should miraculously preserve us from this Death now before our Eyes; It should be the duty of us all to spend the remaining part of our time, in such a manner as now when we see death just at the Door.; At the hour of Execution, their chearfulness and comfort was much increased, saying now the will of God will be done, and he hath most certainly chosen that for us which is best, with many other such like Christian expressions, too tedious here to be inserted, because we design to keep to our first intentions, and not to swell this Treatise too big. Upon the whole, after they had with much earnestness, recommended their Souls to the all wise God by Prayer, they all with much content and satisfaction, submitted themselves to the Executioner, not doubting of a happy Translation, and accordingly

accordingly were Executed and quartered ; before the rest of the Executions in this County, as at *Weymouth, Poole, Shafton, Wimborne, &c.* Not being there, we shall pass over, and only give you particular touches, which we saw to our perfect knowledge, and so we return to *Culliton*, in the County of *Devon* where *John Sprague*, and *William Clegg*, both of that Town were condemned at *Exon*, and there brought to be Executed ; before thy were brought into the place, a Messenger came from the Prisoners, with a Request to the Vicar of the Parish, to desire his company and Assistance in this their extremity, and to Administer those Spiritual helps, that were suitable to Men, in their Circumstances ; accordingly the said Minister came very readily, and did demand of them what they had to desire of him, the dying Persons answered, they desired his Prayers, accordingly he prayed with them a considerable space of time ; And after which he asked of them several questions, for to give him and the World satisfaction of the prepared condition they were in, in order to their glancing into Eternity ; especially about the Doctrine of *non-resistance* ; *John Sprague*, very soberly and moderately replied, but whether satisfactory or not, we leave to the Reader, he believed that no Christian ought to resist a lawful Power, but the case being between Popery and Protestantism, altered the matter ; and the latter being in danger, he believed that it was lawful for him to do what he did, though God in his Providence had thought fit to bring him to this place of Execution. After Reading a Chapter out of the *Corinthians*, and Singing a Psalm suitable to the occasion, he very vehemently and fervently recommended his Soul to the all-wise God by Prayer, for near half an hour to the great satisfaction of all that heard him ; then his Wife and Children coming.

coming to him weeping bitterly, he imbraced them in his Arms, saying, weep not for me; but weep for your selves and for your Sins, for that he had that quiet satisfaction, that he was only going to be Translated into a state of Bliss and Happiness; where he should sin and sorrow no more; but that all Tears should be wiped away, wishing them to be diligent in the Service of God, then recommended his Wife and Children, to the protection of the Almighty God, who had promised to be a Husband to the Widdow, and a Father to the Fatherless, who was faithful and able to make up their loss in him, in that which should be better for them, then he could be, desiring God to be a Refuge for them to fly to for security, and preservation from the troubles that seemed to threaten this poor Nation; the which if they did conscientiously perform, though death here made a separation, he doubted not of meeting them in Heaven at last, and so the Executioner did his Office, during which time his Brother-sufferer, *William Cleg* was all the time on his Knees, Praying to himself, with a seeming Zeal, suddainly after which his turn being come to follow his Brother, he only told the People that his fellow-suffer, had spoken vvhhat he thought vvas necessary, and they were also his sentiments, and so submitted to Execution.

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*An Account of those Executed at Axminster and Honiton.*

**A**T *Axminster* one also was Executed, his Name *Mr. Rose* he was a Gunner, that Landed with the *D. of M.* he had a great Resolution, and not at all started with the fear of Death, he said, that he defy'd death and all them that were the occasion of it, He was very couragious and dyed



died so; he spent some time in private Prayer, and was not allowed time because there was to be Execution at *Honiton*; so that his Execution being over, we past on to *Honiton*, where were four Executed, one of which was a Chyrurgeon, his Name if I do not mistake, was Mr. *Pott* who behaved himself with that extraordinary Christian Courage, that all the Spectators were almost astonished: he being but young about twenty, his Prayers being fervent, his Expressions so pithy, and so becoming a Christian of greater Age, that drew pity and compassion from all present; a rude Fellow, just before he was to be Executed, called for a Bottle of Wine, and so began the Kings health to one of the Guard; which he perceiving, poor Soul said he, Your Cup seemeth to be sweet to you, and you think mine is bitter, which indeed is so to Flesh and Blood, but yet I have that assurance of the fruition of a future *Estate*, that I doubt not but this bitter Potion will be sweetn'd with the Sugar of the loving kindness of my dearest Saviour, that I shall be translated into such a State, where is fulness of Joy and Pleasure for evermore.

Before I conclude one Mr. *Evans* a Minister ought not to be omitted, who did all along in the time of his confinement in Prison, behave himself with that Devotion and Strictness, that became a Christian of great eminency, as indeed he was; he spent much of his time in Preaching and Praying to his fellow Prisoners, exhorting them to hold out to the end; he at last by appointment being Condemn'd, was Executed by himself, at vvhich time and place he behaved himself vvvith great Courage and Devotion, and vvvith a great willingness and chearfulness, he submitted to Execution, there might have been much more said of this worthy Man, but because we will keep to our design shall be omitted; many others, which were also very eminent  
tha;

that suffered in this County for asserting and endeavouring to secure the *Protestant Religion*, might deservedly have a share in this small *Treatise*, but having resolved this for brevity, according as it meeteth with reception, so it may give encouragement for Addition, else must stand as now it is.

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*The Case of Mr. Simon Hamling.*

**T**HUS having finished what we have to say at present shall only add the Case of one Mr. *Simon Hamling* at *Taunton*, to shew that sometimes Innocency will not protect. Mr. *Hamling* was formerly an Inhabitant of the place, but of late years had lived 2 or 3 miles from thence; he was a very honest, worthy, good *Christian*, but was a *Dissenter*, and indeed in the Judgment of some fiery Men, that might be Crime enough, as did too sadly appear in divers Cases; but to our purpose, Mr. *Hamling* living in the Country, hearing of the *D. of M.* being in Town, he there came to speak with his Son, who lived in that place, where being come he gave him advice, which was that as he expected his Blessing and Countenance, he should not at all concern himself in the matter, but submit to the Will of God in all things, and having thus advised his Son, he returns home, and two days after came again to Town, on a Market day, with his Wife to buy Provisions for his Family, and returned to his house again, and this was all the times he was in Town, whiles the *D.* was there but after the business was over, he was brought in on suspicion, being a *Dissenter*, that was Crime enough, except Coin appear'd to a Justice of that Town, who usually did commit or dismiss as that appear'd; this Man was arraign'd at *Taunton*, pleaded not guilty; the matter above

is the Truth of this Case, the *Evidences* were two profligate Rascals, that had Incouragement from the *Justice*, they usually doing what he put them on; the Prisoner had many to prove this Fact and his Honesty; but this did not avail, the Jury found him guilty, with two more, who were presently sentenc'd, and next *Morning* executed for to be *Examples* to others. It is said that the *Justice* did make application to our famous *Protestant Judge*, and hinted some mistake concerning him; to which as I have been informed, he should Reply, you have brought him on, if he be innocent, his blood be upon you, which was a very fine Reply from a merciful Judge, but nothing else could be expected, as the whole Treatise evinceth. The tender *Mercies* of the wicked being cruel; this *Man* behaved himself very worthily at the place of execution, and did at the last declare, his crime to be the same as is above mentioned, and not otherwise. There was one *Mr. Gatchett* executed with him, his crime being a Constable of the Hundred, he was surpris'd by a Party of the *Ds.* and shewed a Warrant to bring in Provisions and other necessaries for the use of the Army, which if he had not obeyed, was threatned to have his House burnt, &c. So that he was obliged to do what he did for his own preservation, but this was not sufficient; for being found guilty was also executed at the same time and place.

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*The Case of Mr. Tho. Lawrence.*

**M**R. *Tho. Lawrence* at *Dorchester* had also very hard measure, he had the managing of an *Estate* belonging to a *Person of Quality*, who had a Barn in the *Parish* of *Lime*, where the *D.* Landed; the day after his Landing a  
 G Party

Party came and took away Three Horses from off this *Estate*, which he having the Trust and Care of makes application to the *D.* for them, adding that he ought not to suffer any of his *Masters* Goods to be wanting, but must endeavour to Recover them again, so mov'd hard to the *D.* for the Horses, but all would not prevail, but at last had one, and was forced to leave two ; this was look'd on as an abetting, being judg'd to be by consent, after the defeat was given, he was had before a *Justice of the Peace*, who bound him over to the *Affizes*, where appearing, he was committed, pleaded not guilty on his Fryal, which he pleaded to very honestly, yet was found guilty and sentenc'd to dye ; my Lord was excellent at Improvement, 'twas thought he would, if possible, have brought in the Gentleman, that own'd the *Estate*, who was very Rich ; this honest *Mr. Lawrence* was to be sacrific'd, and his *Execution* order'd to be at *Warham* ; but my Lord's Favorite got a *Reprieve* for him by the help of 400. *l.* 200. *l.* being actually paid, the other secur'd by Bond.

I promised before I conclude, to give some Account of the barbarous and cruel whippings, which were executed on many good, honest and sufficient *Persons*, both men and women in the Countries of *Dorset. Devon. and Somerset*, by the severe and cruel Sentence of the *L. C. J.* some for such small Crimes, as an impartial man may judge, they deserved no punishment at all ; more especially one *Mr. Stagle* of *Thorncomb* in *Devonshire*, his Sufferings were so hard, that it caused many to pity him, he was a good Liver, well beloved among his Neighbours, and a true Protestant, also one *Mrs. Brown* of *Lime*, suffered very dear in that nature, she only joykingly said, unto the Officer of the *Excise*, I will pay my *Excise* to *K. Monmouth*, which being sworn before this severe Judge, she was found guilty of a misdemeanor,

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was sentenc'd to be whipt in several *Market-Towns*, which accordingly was done, but this Cruelty was not only extended to those of riper years and able better to endure those painful Sufferings, but even to Children; A poor boy of *Weymouth* in the County of *Dorset*, having got some *Pamphlet*, relating somewhat to satisfie the *People*, that the *D. of Monmouth* came to secure the *Protestant Religion*, had the hard fortune to take his Tryal before this harsh Judge, I think he was about ten or twelve years of Age, had the Flesh of his Back so cut with the whipping, that I heard he dyed with the same, but whether he is dead or not, never was such cruelty in all this World: And now we may see how just the Lord is, he that all that time had no Mercy for any, but those that appeared loose Villains, is pittied but by few: Now I come to give you an Account of the Number executed; the Towns and Places where, and so I shall conclude.

A True and Exact List of all them that were Condemned and Suffered in the *West*, in the Year 1685. Under the Sentence of my Lord Chancellor, then Lord Chief Justice of England; with the Names of the Towns where they were Executed.

<i>Hamp-shire</i> .....		At <i>Weymouth</i> .....	12
At <i>Winchester</i> .....	1	At <i>Sherborne</i> .....	12
<i>Wilt-shire</i> .....		At <i>Pool</i> .....	10
At <i>Salisbury</i> .....	1	At <i>Warham</i> .....	5
<i>Dorset-shire</i> .....		At <i>Shroton</i> .....	6
At <i>Dorchester</i> .....	13	At <i>Wimborne</i> .....	5
At <i>Lyme</i> .....	12	In all.....	87
At <i>Bridport</i> .....	10		

Devon-shire.		At Crookern.		10
At Exon.	1	At Somerton.	7	
At Huxton.	5	At Yeovil.	8	
At Axminster.	1	At Netherstoe.	3	
At Culliton.	2	At Dunster.	3	
At Certon.	1	At Dulverton.	3	
At Plymouth.		At Bridgewater.	12	
At Parkmouth.		At Ratcliffhill Bristol.	6	
At Totneys.		At Ilminster.	12	
At Dillerton.		At Stogorsey.	2	
At Barnastable.		At Wellington.	3	
In all	37	At Southpetherton.	3	
Somerset-shire.		At Porlock.	2	
At Bath.	5	At Glasbury.	6	
At Philipsnorton.	12	At Taunton.	10	
At Frome.	12	At Langport.	3	
At Bruton.	3	At Axbridge.	6	
At Wincanton.	6	At Cuthbertstone.	3	
At Shepton Mallet.	13	At Minehead.	6	
At Pensford.	12	At Exilchester.	12	
At Wrington.	3	At Stogummer.	3	
At Wells.	8	At Castle-Cary.	3	
At Finescomb.	3	At Milton-Port.	2	
At Tutton upon Mendip.	2	Keinsbam.	11	
At Chard	12	In all	239	

Besides those hanged and destroyed in cold Blood.

*Some Remarkable Passages, with the Dying Prayers of many Eminent Persons who suffered in the West under the cruel Sentence of the late Lord Chancellor, then Lord Chief Justice Jefferys, and the most remarkable Circumstances that Attended their Execution.*

*An Account of the behaviour of Coll. Holmes in Lyme, and at the place of his Execution. And his last Prayer.*

**H**E with Eleaven more were brought from Dorchester to Lyme six in a Coach, and six in a Carr, as he was drawn through the Town, he chearfully beholding the People, advised them not to be discouraged, at their severe Deaths, for that though it was their hard



Hard fortunes to loose the day, in so good a *Case*, yet he questioned not but it would be Revived again; and by such means as he nor they could not imagine, God I hope and trust will never let this Nation to fall into Popery, being brought to the Inn, where they stopt, near two hours, untill the Butchers had prepared every thing ready for the slaughter, they were visited by a very worthy Divine, and Vicar of that Town, who offered them those spiritual helps, usually in those Occasions, which some of them Embraced, and others not, their Principles being Different from the Church of *England*. The Jaylor speaking to *Coll Holmes* to knock off his Irons, he said, Great Men of State wear *Chains*, and 'tis accounted for their honour, but though there is a vast difference, betwixt those Golden ones and mine, yet I take mine to be more Honourable, as that good Apostle said, he accounted it an honour to suffer shame for his Masters Name, the Sledge being in readiness they prepared to enter it; but Alas! who should draw such Men to Execution though Men were so bloody, the very Beasts refused to draw them; and instead of going forward they went backwards, and could by no means, make them do it, which so intraged some Persons, that they took the Coach Horses out of the Coach, and placed them to the Sledge; but presently the Sledge broke in peices; then spake this worthy good Man: Pray *Gentlemen* you see all your strivings will not do, to draw us to Execution, I verily believe there is more in it then you are aware of, pray read about the Prophet, that went out of Gods way, his Beast saw that he could not.

Give us leave and we will walk to the place; Being there come the *Coll.* prepared first to mount that Tragical Stage, the heads of his Speech you have before, therefore his Prayer take as followeth,  
*Coll. Holme's Last Prayer.*

**M**ost Glorious, most great, and most merciful God, there is none in Heaven nor in Earth that is like unto thee, Heaven is thy Throne, and the Earth is thy footstool, who shall say unto thee, what doest thou? here we are poor deplorable Creatures come to offer up our last Prayers, and Services unto thee, we beseech thy favourable Ear to our Prayers, and the comfort of thy holy Spirit, at this time, we praise and magnifie thy name, for all the dispensations of thy providence towards us, especially for this thy providence, in bringing us to this place and at this time, to suffer shame for thy Name;  
help.

help and assist all of us to submit to thy will patiently. Pardon all our Sins, remove them out of thy presence as far as the East is from the West, and accept of us in the merits of thy Son Jesus Christ, thou who art the searcher of hearts, and tryer of Reins let there not at the moment of death be the least spark of Sin indwelling in us, nor the strivings of Flesh and Blood, that may hinder us from a joyfull passage unto thee, give us patience also under these sufferings and a deliverance to all others from undergoing them, and in thy good time work deliverance for poor *England*, let thy Gospel yet flourish amongst them, hasten the downfall of Antichrist, we trust the time is near come; prevent O Lord this effusion of Christian Blood, and if it be thy will, let this be the last; Lord bless this Town, let them from the highest to the lowest set the fear of God before their Eyes; Bless all sorts and Conditions of Men in all Ranks and Qualities, pardon all their Sins, give them all true Repentance, and the Grace of thy holy Spirit, fit and prepare us for the chearful fulfilling of thy holy will, let the Comforter be still with us, be mercifull to all our Friends and Relations and Acquaintance, forgive our Enemies, accept of our thankfulness, for all the Mercies and favours afforded us, and hear and graciously answer us, in these our Requests, and what else thou knowest needful and expedient for us, and all for our Redeemer the Lord Jesus Christ his sake; who Dyed for us, that we might Reign with him for ever and ever, to whom with thee and thy Blessed Spirit of Grace be ascribed, as is most due, all honour, glory and Praise both now and for ever, after which, embracing his Fellow sufferers, and kissing them and giving them some ghostly Comforts, he desired help of the Sheriff to go up the Ladder, having but one Arm, and the Gallows higher then ordinary, which was granted: And in a short time after the Executioner did his Office; thus fell the valiant and good Christian *Call Holme*, his dying Words, we have now found come to pass, he was much lamented by all that saw him, except by some, that his feared, are delivered up to a feared Conscience.

*Mr. Christopher Bariscombe, his last Speech and Prayer immediately before he suffered at Lyme 11th of September 1684.*

**H**E was well known to be a Gentleman, and of a good Estate in *Dorchester-shire*, and a true Protestant, well beloved among the Gentry of that Country; It was his fortune to be concerned with the

D. M. and was very faithful to him to the last, during the time of the Bloody Assizes at *Dorchester*, where he received his Sentence of death, was divers times sent for to the Chamber of the then *L. C. J.* and promoted with offers of Life to betray some *Gentlemen*, which he refused saying, he scorned to purchase his Life by such indirect means; and he accordingly chose death rather than Life; seeing it could not be purchased, but by such unworthy means. The day being come he prepared himself, and received the Holy Sacrament, walking down to the Place of Execution, with much cheerfulness and Christian Courage, when he was mounting the Ladder, smiled, and said, I am not afraid of this, I am going to a better Place, from a poor and miserable World, to a Celestial Paradise, a Heavenly Jerusalem; I might have chosen; whether I would have undergone this Death, if I had hearkened to the *L. C. J.* but it was upon such unworthy terms, that should I have accepted of my Pardon, it would have been troublesome to me; I dye a true Protestant, I am in Charity with all Men, God preserve this Nation from Popery, the Lord bless you all; forsaking his leave of them, he knew, after Prayer, he launched into Eternity. *Some Passages Relating to Mr. Sampson Larke with his Prayer, at the same time and place when Executed.*

**I**mmmediately after Col. *Holmes* was Executed; this good Man was ordered to prepare to follow, accordingly going to deliver some few Words to the People, some whereof were formerly of his Congregation, but being told, he could not expect much time; because it was so late, and so many to be Executed after him, so he suddenly concluded, and said, I will now speak a few Words to him which I am sure will hear me, and so began his Prayer, as followeth.

Blessed Lord God, we thine unworthy Creatures, now here before thee cannot but acknowledge from the bottom of our Hearts our own unworthiness, we must confess we have been grievous Sinners and have brought forth the Evil Fruit of it in our Lives, to the great dishonour of thy Name, for which we have deserved thy heavy wrath and indignation to be poured forth upon us, not only in this Life, but in that which is to come.

O let us bless God for our Sufferings and Afflictions, as for our Mercies, we bless thee in particular for this, O sanctify it to us, let us be effectually convinced of the vanity of the World, and of our own sinfulness by Nature and Practice, and to see that to be

Sin which we never saw before; O Lord make us sensible of the absolute Necessity of the Righteousness of Christ to justify us, and let him be now made much more dear and precious to our Souls than ever; that so we may be wrought into a more Heavenly Frame, and raised to a higher degree of Spirituality, and so made more meek and humble, and let us judge Charitably of others, that differ from us in Opinion and Judgment; and now O Lord, though by thy most righteous Judgment, we most justly deserve these sufferings, and such an ignominious death, for our Sins, against thee, not for Treasons against the Kingdom, let us be in a preparedness for it: Pardon all our Sins, help us quietly to submit to thy holy will, speak peace to all our Souls, look in mercy O Lord, on this poor Nation, especially on this Town, and every particular Person in it, let them all mind those things which concerns their peace before they are hid from their Eyes, comfort my dear and distressed Wife, be a Husband unto her, deliver her out of the Paw of the *Lyon*, and the Paws of the Bear, look upon all thy poor afflicted ones, all Prisoners and Captives, work deliverance for them if thou seest it good, but thy will be done in Earth as it is in Heaven, and now Lord with humble meekness and submission I submit to thy will, depending upon the merits of my Saviour, to whom with thy blessed self and Spirit be ascribed all Honour and praise both now and for ever. *Amen.*

Then mounting the Ladder, he called to some of the Town who weeped for him, but were at some distance, go home to your own Houses, pray do not weep for me, and before you get up yonder Hill, I shall be with my Heavenly Father, in fulness of Joy and Pleasure for ever more, and so advising those before him to leave off those cruel Sentiments they had taken of them, besides some Heavenly discourses with some of his Friends, was turned off to the great grief of the good People in the Town, especially those of his own Congregation. To give him nothing but his due, he was a man mighty charitable, relieving and visiting the poor and needy, Preached in season and out of season, and made it his business to go about doing good, and to put poor Souls in a way for Eternal Life, he was an old Christian, as well as aged in Years, he was a general loss.

Especially to his dear and tender Wife, but all our losses are nothing to be compared to that Glory that he now enjoys.

**FINIS.**

*Capt. Madders last Prayer at the same time and place.*

**C**apt. Madders at the time of the Duke's Landing was a Constable at Crewkern, in the County of Somerset; and so diligent and active for the King in his Office, that when two Gentlemen of Lyme came there, and brought the News of the Duke's Landing, and desired Horses to ride Post, to acquaint his Majesty therewith, he immediately secured Horses for them, the Town being generally otherways bent, and assisted them so far as any called Loyal in those times could do, which was represented to the Lord Chief Justice, in expectation thereby to save his Life; but an Enquiry being made about his Religion, and returned by a very worthy Gentleman of those Parts, That he was a good Protestant, an honest Man, had a very good Character amongst his Neighbours; *O then, says he, I'll hold a wager with you he is a Presbyterian, I can smell them forty miles;* though moderately I now say, they can smell him two hundred Miles *West;* then surely he must dye, because he was, and had the Character of an honest Man, a good Christian, and a brave Tradesman. But to be short, I could say a great deal more of him, being intimately acquainted with him, and was with him to the very last: being brought to the Place of Execution, he was the last Man except one executed, and he behaved himself, whilst the rest were Executing, with great Zeal; and lifting up his hands and eyes, would often say, *Lord, make me so willing and ready to the last:* And God did hear his Prayers; for though he seemed to the Spectators to be somewhat unwilling to dye, yet at the last he dyed with as much Assurance and Christian Resolution as any; for after his publick Prayer, he came once down the Ladder, and Prayed again privately, then mounted the Ladder again, the Sheriff saying, *Mr. Madders, If you please, you may have more liberty;* he answered, *No, I thank you Mr. Sheriff; now I am ready, I am willing, and desire to be dissolved, and to be with Christ: Oh! you cannot imagine what Comfort and Refreshment I have received in a few minutes; my Comforts are so great that I cannot contain my self:* So blessing and praising

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ing of God, he was translated, as I hope ( we have no grounds to imagine the contrary ) from Earth to Heaven, repeating *Revel.* 20. 6. *Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first Resurrection, on such the second Death hath no power.* His publick Prayer was as followeth.

**O** *Eternal and ever blessed Lord God, look down upon me a miserable Sinner with an eye of pity and compassion, in and through my dear Redeemer, the Lord Jesus Christ. O Lord, I acknowledg my self a great and grievous Sinner, I have sinned against the clearest light and the dearest love; I have deserved to have been spurned from thy Presence, and from the glory of thy Power, and that thou shouldest now say unto me, I will have no more to do with such an unworthy Wretch, such a polluted filthy Creature as thou art and hast been: But, O Lord, there is mercy with thee that thou mayest be feared; and thou hast promised, that if a Sinner turn from his wickedness thou wilt have mercy on him; and tho his sins were as scarlet, thou wouldst make them white as wool: Fulfil, O Lord, thy gracious Promise unto me, a poor suppliant, in this my last hour of my life; purge and cleanse me from all sin and filthiness, give me true Repentance; and if there lyes any sin not yet repented of, O Lord bring it to my Conscience, Mind and Memory: But I hope, O Lord, thou hast heard my prayers, my sighs and groans; I hope and trust thou hast pardoned all my sins, and wilt immediately receive my soul. Look down in Mercy on my dear Wife and Family, be thou a Comfort and all in all unto them. Now, Lord, I am coming to thee, assist me to the last moment, Comfort my distressed Soul; do more for me than I am able to ask for, or think of, but what thou knowest to be needful and necessary for me, in and through the Merits of my dear Redeemer, the Lord Jesus Christ, to whom with thee and thy blessed Spirit of Grace be ascribed the Kingdom, the Power and the Glory, for ever and for ever, Amen.*

*The*



*The Dying Words of Capt. Kidd, Executed at the same Time and Place.*

**T**His Gentleman was the last Executed at that time; as soon as Capt. *Madders* was turned off, he began to prepare to follow, and called to his Guards and those present, *Do you see this, (pointing up to eleven that were dead before him) do you think this is not dreadful to me, that eleven of twelve of us, that but a few hours since came down together are dead and in Eternity? and I am just going to follow them, and shall immediately be in the same Condition:* Says one to him, *It must be dreadful to flesh and blood;* says he, *Well, Gentlemen, I will assure you, I am so far concerned, that methinks I bethink their Happiness, that they should be so long before me in bliss and happiness, but I'll make haste to follow; I am satisfied this is the best day that ever I saw: The day of a Mans death is said to be better than the day of his birth, and truly so I find it as to my flesh, for I shall be presently free from sin and sorrow; I am satisfied God hath done his best for me: I might have lived and have forgotten God, but now I am going where I shall sin no more: 'Tis a blessed thing to be free from sin, and to be with Christ: O how great were the sufferings of Christ for us, beyond all that I can undergoe! how great is that Glory to which I am going!* Then taking his leave of the People then present, he prayed some small time very devoutly, and with seeming great Joy and Comfort, the Executioner did his Office. There was Executed also at the same time divers others, as Mr. *Will. Hewling*, Doct. *Temple*, Mr. *Matthews*, with some others.

At *Bridport*, in the same County of *Dorset*, there was Executed Twelve, one of which was *John Sprage* of *Lyme*, a Man more fit to dye than he that Condemned him was fit to live: He was a zealous Christian, and a Man that in a manner lived in Heaven while on Earth; he was but of an ordinary Estate in this World; but to be short, his Praise, his Worth, his Fame will never dye

in those places where known; he went about doing good, even in his worldly Employments, as I have been credibly informed, hardly any thing coming that way but what his spiritual Meditations were upon. He was Apprehended near *Salisbury*, brought to *Dorchester*, where I saw him several times, and was conversant with him before his Tryal; he carried himself very moderately to all; some of divers Principles in matters of Religion he continually Prayed with them, advising and instructing them to those holy Duties which were necessary to Salvation: Being asked how he could endure those hardships he had undergone, since his being taken; says he, *If this be all, 'tis not so much; but my Friend, if you were to take a Journey in those ways you were not acquainted with, you would (I hope) desire Advice from those that had formerly used those ways, or lived near by them: Yes, says he: Then said he, The ways of Affliction which I have lately travelled in, I had Advice many a time from a Minister, who hath often told his Congregation of the troublesomeness of the road, and of the difficulty of getting through; and has given me and hundreds of others to understand the pitta and stones in the way, and how to avoid them; he has been a Man used to those roads many years; I have taken his Advice, I am got thus far on comfortably, and I trust shall do so to the end; I am not afraid to fight a duel with Death, if so it must be: Now I thank God I can truly say, O Death where is thy sting? and O Grave where is thy victory?* Two or three days after their Sentence they were drawn to Execution, but were very rudely and opprobriously dealt with, to the shame of those that then had the charge over them, their Rigor unto them was more like *Turks* than *Christians*. But to conclude, being come to the Place of Execution, he Prayed very devoutly with them all, but by the rudeness of the Guards there could be no Copy taken to be said to be true: All of them dyed very Courageous, especially this stout Christian Champion, who spake to them in these words, (looking on the Souldiers) saying, *Little do you think that this very Body of mine, which you are now come to see cut in pieces, will one day rise up in Judgment against you, and be your Accuser, for your delight in spilling of Christian Blood; the Heathens have far more Mercy: O 'tis sad, when England*  
*must*

must outstrip Infidels and Pagans! but pray take notice, don't think that I am not in Charity with you; I am so far, that I forgive you and all the World; and do desire the God of Mercies to forgive you, and open your hearts, and turn you from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to the Lord Jesus Christ; and so Farewell. I am going out of the power of you all; I have no dependance but upon my blessed Redeemer, to whom I commit my dear Wife and Children, and all the World.

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*The last Speech of Doct. Temple of Nottingham, at the Place of Execution.*

**D**Octor Temple was one of them that Landed with the Duke, and was his chief Physician and Chyrurgeon; he lived in Nottingham, but minding to see other Parts of the World, (as I have heard) goes for Holland, where he came acquainted with the Duke of Monmouth, concerning which he thus spake, just as he was going off the Ladder:

*Christian Friends, and dear Countrey-men,*

"I Have somewhat to say, and not very much, before I depart from you, and shall be seen no more:

"And,

"First, As to my Engagement with the Duke of Monmouth.

"Secondly, How far I was concerned: And,

"Thirdly, I shall leave all of you to be Judges in matter of Fact: And so for the

"First, As a Dying Man I now Declare, that when

"I entered my self with the Duke of Monmouth, to  
"be

"be his Chyrurgeon, it was on no other Account but  
 "to serve him in the *West-Indies*; where I knew no  
 "other Design whatsoever, but to Possess himself of  
 "some of those Islands, until I had been at Sea two  
 "days, wherein one privately told me, we were ab-  
 "solutely bound for *England*, and I should take it from  
 "him it was true; it much surprized me, but know-  
 "ing no way to avoid it, or to get on shore, though  
 "it was at that time contrary to my Inclinations, if  
 "I could have avoided it: I would not let others see that  
 "I had that dissatisfaction within me. After our Land-  
 "ing at *Lyme*, I knew it was never the near to at-  
 "tempt my Escape, the Countrey being so beset; on  
 "the other hand, if the Duke of *Monmouth* did win  
 "the day, I might have raised my Fortunes as high  
 "as I could expect; these were the Arguments that  
 "Flesh and Blood did create in my Breast for self-pre-  
 "servation. While I was with the said Duke, I did  
 "him as much Service as I could; and faithfully: Af-  
 "ter it pleased God to disperse that Army under his  
 "Command, I endeavoured to secure my self, but by  
 "Providence was taken at *Honyton*, from thence Com-  
 "mitted to *Exon*, and after removed to *Dorchester*,  
 "where I received my Sentence, and am now as you  
 "see just going to Execution; the Lord prevent all  
 "of you from such ignominious Deaths; and I ad-  
 "vise you all, that you never take any great thing  
 "in hand, but what you have a warrant for from  
 "the Lord: I assure you I had not satisfaction in this;  
 "but this I am sure, that if I have done any thing  
 "amiss in it, it is Pardoned: I Bless God I have that  
 "satisfaction, I dye a Professor of the Church of *Eng-*  
 "land.

“land. I desire Pardon of all those I have any ways  
“wronged or abused, as I freely forgive all those that  
“have wronged or abused me; I am in Charity with  
“all men. *Lord have mercy upon me, give me strength*  
“*to go through these pains, and give me full Assurance now*  
“*at this last moment: Come, Lord Jesus, Come quickly.*

Also one Samuel Robbins of Charmouth in the County of Dorset, that was Executed, or rather Murthered, at Warham, in the said County; I cannot pass him by in silence, his Case being so extraordinary hard, that to speak moderately betwixt the King and his Case, I do say this, that I verily believe never Man suffered innocenter; as I hope you will be satisfied in, after you have heard his Crime, and on what small grounds he was Guilty; or so supposed by my Lord Chief Justice.

He used generally in the Summer to use the Craft of Fishing, to get a competent maintenance for his Family, and happened to be out at Sea a Fishing before Lyme, that day the Duke came in to land, and was commanded on board of one of the Duke's Ships, he not knowing who they were, and they bought his Fish of him; after which they told him that was the Duke of Monmouth, poynting at him, and that he was just going to Land; he desired to go on shore, which was refused, and told, that as soon as the Duke was landed he should have his liberty; so accordingly he came on shore, and never after was with him, or ever took up Arms under him: I leave the Reader to judge whether this was High Treason or no. This was all he was Guilty of, except that he was a good honest Man, a zealous Christian, a Man of a very good Life and Conversation, as I think his Neighbours will attest it, in most Towns and Parishes near where he lived; but alas he had a good Book in his House when taken, called, *The solemn League and Covenant*; this was the High Treason he must be Guilty of, which was aggravated to the Lord

Lord Chief Justice, by one or two hot Spirits his Neighbours. But to be short, he received his Sentence of Death with great Courage, and not at all dismay'd; saying very often in Prison before, "If it pleased God to call him now (to glorifie his Name by this Providence of his) to Death, he should be ready, but (said he) I am as Innocent of any thing I have done against any Man that may deserve this Punishment, as the Child now unborn." When he came to the Place of Execution, he very chearfully declared his Innocency to the Spectators, as before, and so Praying very devoutly for some time, he was Executed: His Prayer I have no exact Copy of.

Also one Mr. *Charles Speake* of *London*, a Gentleman of good Extraction, being Son to the Worshipful *George Speake Esq;* near *Ilminster* in the County of *Sommerfet*; where he was Executed; his Case also was extraordinary hard, but there may be Two great Reasons given why he was Executed; the *First* was, Because he came from that good Pious Family, which always have been opposers to Popery, and suffered deeply for their courage that way. *Secondly*, The said Mr. *Charles Speake* had purchsed some great place in the *Kings-Bench*, or *Common-pleas*, which was very profitable to him, so that by his fall there being a forfeiture, much Money may be made of it: all intercession would not avail with the L. C. J. for his life; he hapened to be at *Ilminster* at the time of the Dukes being there, which was the greatest Crime he was guilty of, the validity of his Evidence I leave to those in the *West*, which know how far it was carried that way. He was a fine courteous loving Gentleman, and notwithstanding his Youth, he acted the part of an old Christian Souldier, at his Death, preparing himself before to undergo those pains, saying very often, *They were nothing to his deserts from God Almighty, but as for what I am Accused of, and Sentenced for, I hope you will believe I am not so Guilty, as my Judge and Accusers have endeavoured to make me; if it had pleased God, I should have been willing to have lived some time longer, but Gods time being come, I am willing, I will be contented to drink this bitter Cup off.*



off. Being at the place of Execution, the croud was so great, that I suppose he was shorter than otherwise he would have been; but alas! how could it be? for on every side of him, as well as up and down the Town, the Inhabitants weeping and bewailing him: *O 'tis the worst day that ever we saw in this Town! Must this good Gentleman dye here? Oh! yet save his life, I am ready to dye for him;* and the like. He Prayed very heartily for near an hour, and Sung a Psalm, and so we hope was translated to Heaven, there to Sing everlasting Praises and Hallelujahs. His Father and Mother you may easily judge were not a little concerned about him, but their Adversaries malice ended not here, but Father and Mother must be brought in, and how many Thousands of Pounds it cost them, I think is too well known in *London*, and most parts of the Kingdom have heard in the publick Letters their Names mentioned. Some may think they were concerned with the Duke, but I never heard there was so much made appear against them, as could have made them been brought in guilty of High Misdemeanours; had not the good Gentleman and his Lady been virtuous People, abhorring the Debaucheries of the times, and of such a competent Estate, able to spare ten or twelve thousand Pounds; the hard usage this honest brave Gentleman and his virtuous Lady had, and their sufferings, to relate them, would be too large; and besides, it is so well known in most places in the *West*, that I shall without saying any more proceed. And next for Mr. *Parret*, who was Executed at *Taunton*; if I mistake not, he said he was a *Londoner*, and a Brewer; when he came to the place of Execution, he seemed a Man almost unconcerned at Death; after some time, he began to deliver himself somewhat low in Voice to the People, and after rising by degrees, he seemed more like a Minister in a Pulpit preaching devoutly, than a Prisoner just going to Execution; but I being then not well, could not tarry to see his end; but the Character I had was, *That he desired all, not to be faint-hearted because of their fall, and to think that there was no hopes remaining*: He said, *He verily believed God would yet work out deliverance for them, and at the time they were in the greatest Extremity, that should be God's opportunity; our your whole trust and confidence, and dependence on the Lord, and he will never leave you nor forsake you; and much more*; but having no more exact Coyy, I shall not enlarge, but come to some other.

A Poem on a Lady that came to my Lord Chief Justice, to beg Mr. Bescombs Life, Sister to one of the Sheriffs in the West, which he deny'd.

**H**arder than thine own Native Rocks!  
 To let the Charming Silvia kneel,  
 And not one spark of Pity feel:  
 Harder than senseless Stones and Stocks!  
 Ye Gods! what Showers of Pearls she gave?  
 What precious Tears; enough to save  
 A bleeding Monarch from the Grave.

By every hapless Virgin Curst:  
 Winter blasts not more unkind;  
 Deaf as the rugged Northern Wind;  
 By some Welch Wolf in Murders nurst.  
 Hast thou Eyes? or hast thou none?  
 Or are they worse than Marble grown?  
 Since Marbles weep at Silvia's moan.

Robbels stiff, and supple Slaves,  
 All the frantick World divide,  
 One must stoop, and e other ride;  
 Cringing Fools, and Factions Knaves;  
 Tho' falling on the losers part,  
 Gentler Death arrests my Heart,  
 And has in Honey dip his Dart.

Life farewell, thou gaudy Dream,  
 Pained or e with griefs and joys  
 Which the next kind hour destroys;  
 And drown them all in Lethe Stream.

What blest Mortal could not die,  
 Might he with me embalm'd lie,  
 In precious Tears from Silvia's Eye?

The Last Speech

HENRY BODDY,

Executed at BATH.

While he was in Prison, especially after Sentence, he behaved himself mighty Humble, Meek, and was much in Meditation, which was observed by several Divines, especially one who attended him to his Last, his name Mr. *Simson*, his poor Wife coming to see him at *Wells*, and to make her Interest with some Friends, if possible to save his Life; but finding it lost Labour, and that she could by no means prevail, she died there for grief, before her Husband was Executed, to his great grief. When he came to the place of Execution, he delivered himself to the People in these Words: *Godd People, I am come here to pay a Debt due to Nature, which every one, one time or another, must pay, though not in this manner, for nature: I am Condemned as a Traytor and Rebel against my King, which were things I always hated and abhorred, and therefore give me so much time as to Deliver my self to you, and what I say, I hope you will believe me at this time, being just going to give an account, not only for every idle word, but for all things I have done since I have had a being. I was Born in *Lyme Regis*, in the County of *Dorset*, and bred up a Seaman from my Infancy; I have had the Honour to serve His Majesty King *Charles the Second*, in his Wars with the *Dutch* and *French*; divers times: I always thought it to be the Duty of every true *Englishman*, to stand up in his Countries quarrel with Foreigners, to maintain our Ancient Privileges and Honour of our Nation*

Nation. I served him faithfully; and as for any undertaking now with the late Duke of *Monmouth*, for which, I am now come to suffer Death; as for my designs, I am sure they were good; for I did believe him to be my Sovereign's Son and Heir, but if otherwise, I have done amiss, and am sorry, and hope the Lord hath pardon'd it: While I was in Arms, I am sure there's none can say I have personally wronged them: I desire all your Prayers for me to the last. I am no Orator, therefore if you please, (speaking to the Minister,) do those last spiritual Services for me, as for to Pray with me, and for me: The Minister being much taken with him, desired leave of the Sheriff to ask him some questions, which being granted; the Minister said unto him, *I must make bold with you, but not to hold you too long before I pray, but to satisfy myself and the People on what ground you stand; I mean, as concerning your Everlasting state: Now pray resolve me a few things: First, Whether you do own that Doctrine of Non-Resistance, own'd by the Church; That it is not lawful on any account whatsoever, to take up Arms against the King?* O Sir! as to that I Answer: Could I have been satisfied he had been my Lawful Prince, I should not have done it: *But said the Minister, He is, and you are not to be judge; except you own those things, some People will hardly have Charity for you after you are Dead: What matters that said he? would you have me, now you put me so close to it, to lye?* No I will not. I say, If he was my Lawful King, I was misled in my judgment, and have committed a great Error; but Lord, I hope thou hast washed away all my sins, in and through the Blood of my dear Redeemer, in whose alone Merits I hope for Mercy. I desire to be asked no more Questions: Then the Minister Prayed very devoutly near half an hour, after which, lifting up his Hands and Eyes to Heaven, quietly submitted to Death.

This Bloody Tragedy in the West being over, our Protestant Judge returns for London; soon after which Alderman Cornish felt the anger of some body behind the Curtain; for it is to be Noted, that he was Sheriff when *Best* prayed an Indictment might be preferred, and was, as well as Sheriff *Bebbel*, earnest in promoting it; in alledging, that it was no ways reasonable, that the Juries of London should lie under such a reproach, &c. But passing this over, we now find this Person arrived at the Pinnacle of Honour; the *Purse* and *Maec* were reserved for him, vacant by the Death of the

— Lord

Lord Keeper North, and he advanced to the Lord Chancellourship of England; rais'd by this means, as one might think, above the envy of the crowd; and it might be wish'd, in so dangerous a height he had look'd better to his footsteps; for now being Created *Baron of Wem*, we find him in a High Commission, or Ecclesiastical Court, Suspending the Honourable Lord Bishop of London from performing the Episcopal Office and Function of that See; and for no other default, than not readily complying with the King's Letter in Suspending Dr. Sharp, Dean of *Notwich*, for Preaching a Sermon in the Parish Church of St. *Ones* in the Fields, at the request of the Parishioners, shewing the Errors and Fallacies of the *Romish* Religion; the better to confirm them in the Faith and Doctrine of the Church of England. Nor was it this good Bishop alone that was aimed at; for scarce had the *Marshall* Colledge pass'd the Seal, and in that very Mother of Learning, and Chief Seminary of our Church, such alterations made, as startled the Kingdom; by whose Counsel I undertake not to determine, but in the midst of Liberty of Conscience, as twice declared. The Church of England had a Test put upon her Sons, which seem'd such a Paradox that has been rarely heard of, viz. To Read the King's Declaration for Liberty of Conscience in the Churches, during the time of Divine Service, and a Mark, and Penalties threatned to the refusers; which was evidently demonstrated, by the Imprisonment of those Pious Patriots of their Country, and Pillars of the Church: His Grace the Lord Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Bishop of *Bath and Wells*, *Ely*, *Peterborough*, *Chichester*, *St. Asaph*, and *Bristol*; who for shewing their Reasons, why they could not comply with this Command, by way of Humble Petition; were sent to the Tower, and afterwards Tryed upon Information of High Misdemeanour, at the Court of *Kings-Bench*; where their Innocency appearing in a large manner, they were Acquitted, to the scandal of their Accusers: yet Orders were sent into all parts of England, to return an Account to the Lord Chancellour, of those that refused to Read the Declaration, that they might be proceeded against, for a contempt of what their Consciences would not permit them to do; and for a time they were extreamly hot upon it: But the News of the great Preparations in *Holland*, and that the Prince of *Orange* was certainly designed for *England*, the determined Councils cooled, and

and then quite ceased, so that the Church of *England* men, whose Cause the Prince had espoused, were restored again to the Commissions and Fruits they had (by what Justice I know not) been lately deprived; and amongst other Charters that were on this occasion restored, was that of the City of *London*; and that which makes it more memorable, was, that it was brought to the *Guild-Hall* by this Person, who he was not attended with the Shouts and Acclamations he expected, nor seemed so florid or frolicksome as heretofore, which some looked upon as a presaging Omen; and it's reported, soon after he being asked by a Courtier, *What the Heads of the Princes Declaration was?* he should answer, *He was sure his was one, whatever the rest was.*

The Court by this time beginning to scatter, and the Prince of *Orange* approaching, the King thought fit to withdraw himself, upon notice of which, the Lord Chancellour betook himself to *Wapping*, disguised like a Seaman, in order to his Escape to *Hamborough*, in a Collier; but being discovered, he was brought before Sir *John Chapman*, Lord Mayor of the City of *London*, in a strange disguise from what he formerly appeared: And by reason of the Lord Mayor's Indisposition, he not being able to Commit him, he offered to go to the *Tower*, to be out of the Hands of the Rabble, who there in great numbers with clubs and staves, threatned him with present destruction: But having a Guard of the Train-bands to conduct him, he got thither safe, and soon after was charged in Custody by a Warrant of Commitment from the Lords at *White-Hall*, where he continued under much affliction and indisposition; having since moved for his *Habeas-Corpus* to be Bailed, but has hitherto not been able to attain it. He had not been in the *Tower* many days, but as tis said (whether true or no, I cannot affirm) he had a Barrel of Oysters sent him, upon sight of which he said to the bearer, Well then, I see I have some Friends left still; but upon opening the Barrel, he found them to be only Friends that were impatient till he gave them a prospect of his future destiny, for verily the mighty Present was nothing but a good able *Halter*. Now, as I said before, whether this passage be true or no, I cannot say, but this I am sure, (if we consider his Lordships Life and Crossings) the Moral of it is very good. And thus Reader, you have briefly seen the Rise and Fall of this now unfortunate Person, and so (at present) we take our Farewel.

F I N I S.





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